FORUM

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The first of three articles analyzing Britain's economic crisis

Britain's Prosperity Under Free Trade

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ROOTS of Britain's present economic difficulties — except, of course, those found in "acts of God" such as blizzards, floods and the birth of Hitler — can be unearthed by probing into the century of her greatest prosperity, the nineteenth. Some of the very forces which made Britain wealthy and powerful have later become boomerangs, returning to harm the nation in its time of need. Four of these are:

1. England's priority in moving to a leading position among the industrial and mercantile countries of the world.
2. The adoption of free trade policies in the middle of the nineteenth century, so that in the later Victorian era, the period of her most rapid advance, England was making and selling what she was economically best fitted to produce and buying from abroad the food which she had lost her skill and taste for raising and the raw materials she lacked. In the international division of labor made possible by free trade, she had become a fabricator and merchant.
3. Specialization within the area of her proved ability, with the result that three staples — textiles, iron and steel and their products and coal — formed the core of production and export.
4. The accumulation of capital to be invested abroad, where it yielded the income for buying foreign food and raw materials.

Almost up to the outbreak of World War I, this eminently logical and obviously practical course seemed to have justified itself as the wisest way for Britain to attain the full utilization of international economic resources for the enrichment of the home population. But the shock of that conflict revealed to the British people the disadvantages under the surface of the advantages

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the country had so long enjoyed. By the end of World War II, the disadvantages, converging as the need to increase merchandise exports in order to live at anything like prewar standards, had become Britain's number one difficulty.

The advantages of a head start in the industrial race were now lost in the difficulties of old age, obsolescent industrial equipment and over-conservative managerial habits. Late comers, with new ideas, new plants and fuller mechanization could, and easily did, forge ahead. Free trade, with its consequent relegation of British agriculture to a dignified obscurity, meant that Britain had a close brush with starvation in World War I, a nerve-wracking fight for food in World War II and a subsequent prolongation of shortages and rationing, to say nothing of the doubtful future.

It now appeared that concentration on the staple industries in obedience to the laws of free trade had narrowed Britain's foreign markets and left wide-open gaps for newer and more imaginative manufacturing countries to enter, bringing their twentieth century gadgets with them. Even the rich investments abroad, the quick utilization of which helped to save lives in the early months of World War II, proved all too liquid and easily convertible for war purchases. Their stream of purchasing power for foreign food and raw materials was only a trickle by the time peace came.

In 1800 England's dependence upon foreign supplies had not yet begun. The manufacturing enterprises made possible by the industrial revolution were in their infancy; raw cotton was not yet needed in quantity; the already plentiful food supply was expanding. England, like the United States today, was exporting more commodities than she imported and was at the same time operating behind a high tariff barrier.

Within 50 years the population doubled and foreign commerce more than doubled. Imports gained steadily on exports and in the fourth decade surpassed them, never to go back. The new cotton manufacture pushed the old standby, woolen, into second place on the export list. Iron products were rising fast and coal was the coming fuel. The list of staples which were to bring Britain prosperity and then depression was taking shape.

It was not until the second and third decades of the nineteenth century that the cries of "cheap food" and "repeal the corn laws" (abolition of import duties on wheat and other grains) were heard in the land. Impatience with governmental restrictions, however, was already in the air. Adam Smith's criticisms of mercantilism and his advocacy of *laissez faire* interested the intellectuals from the moment of the publication of *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776. Action was delayed, however, by the emergencies of the French and Napoleonic Wars and by slow public response until the 1820's, when the first inroads were made on the protective duties on manufacturers' goods.

Pressure for the repeal of the corn laws came from manufacturers

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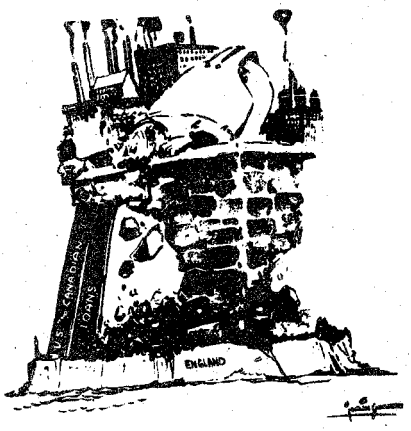
and the new lower middle class. The manufacturers reasoned that their markets in such grain-producing countries as Russia, Prussia, France and the United States would be restricted as long as the English duty on wheat restricted their purchasing power by partially blocking the importation of wheat into England. Also, they believed that, if the workers' food could be cheapened, they could pay lower wages and so reduce their own export prices and widen their sales. The workers, sensing the probable effect of repeal as a lowering of wages, in general held aloof from the campaign.

The loudest clamor came from the Anti-Corn League, organized in the textile city of Manchester in 1839 as the Anti-Corn Law Association, with funds liberally supplied by manufacturers, in behalf of which Richard Cobden and John Bright became famous orators. Ebenezer Elliott's "Corn-Law Hymns" and "Corn-Law Rhymes" caught the public attention by the vehemence of their attack on the agricultural landlords, who made up the powerful Parliamentary force which could block repeal indefinitely. One popular stanza ran:

> Lord! Bid our palaced worms their vileness know!
> Bleach them with famine till they earn their bread!
> And, taught by pain to feel a brother's woe,
> Marvel that honest labor toils unfed.

To thoughtful observers outside the battle lines, the case for repeal was strong. The law of diminishing returns was setting in for British agriculture. Even through intensive cultivation the food produced could not possibly keep pace with the needs of the rapidly increasing population. The days of British self-sufficiency in food were gone, and with them the validity of the argument that high protection must be maintained in order to keep Britain independent of the outside world for food. The tax on food had become merely a tax on industry and consumers for the benefit of England's older vested interests.



—Loring in *The Providence Journal-Bulletin*

"SHAKY DESPITE THE PROP"

The decade of the 1840's, the "Hungry Forties," saw free trade in food become a reality. Sir Robert Peel, a Tory prime minister who took office with a pledge to keep the corn laws and the protective system, was persuaded to reduce import duties on manufactured goods and to let raw materials come in free. Nature then took a hand with "the rains that rained away the Corn Laws." The serious po-

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tato famine in Ireland in 1845 forced Peel to suspend the corn laws in order to allow the free importation of food into Ireland.

In 1846 the measure was passed which was to repeal the corn laws entirely by 1849. Further modifications of the other protective duties followed, and in 1860 all remaining protective duties were abolished. A beginning had already been made in granting foreign ships and merchants entry into British harbors, and in 1849 the last of the navigation acts was repealed. The great free trade experiment, the only one of its kind the industrialized world was to see, was under way.

FREE TRADE

With the adoption of free trade, British prosperity increased beyond all imagination. Even in agriculture the blessings were felt until the beginning of the great depression in the 1870's. For a short time, after the food shortages in Ireland disappeared, the farmers were discouraged by a period of low prices, but the pressure of the population on the food supply, aided by the weather and the handicap to foreign wheat brought by the American Civil War, soon cured that. In the decade after repeal, only about a quarter of the wheat consumed in the country came from overseas and for other essential foods the fraction was less. The cost of bringing in food in sailing ships was high, and British farmers could compete at prices profitable to themselves even in the years of agricultural plenty.

The financial advantages of free trade were now so obvious and British prosperity so widely envied that the contagion spread. No other country went the whole way. Many soon wearied of the unfamiliar jostling of their entrenched interests and prejudices, but for a few years the countries of Europe tried to follow. Within a few years Russia, Switzerland, Piedmont, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Belgium and France started along the road of reduction. Even the United States, then as always the home of extreme protection and hostility to *laissez faire* for inward-bound commerce, showed a tendency to lower tariffs in the late 1850's, but the Civil War put an end to that.

British industry now entered upon its period of greatest prosperity and British commerce was multiplied almost by four within 50 years. Wages rose faster than the cost of living. Foreign trade after 1850 showed, in a more pronounced form, the trends which had been developing and which made it a superlatively skilful medium for the international division of labor. Cotton manufactures, which continued to lead the list of exports, usually furnished about a quarter of the total. Iron and steel and their products climbed to second place, with the result that England sent to other countries the machinery for industrial expansion and subsequent higher buying power. Coal, the only important raw material export, was still sent abroad in quantity, to the amount of about one-tenth of British exports.

It was natural enough that in this

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period free trade became virtually a religion in the minds of the English people. "Manchester economics" had vindicated itself, not only by the accumulation of individual wealth and the rise of the standard of living, but also through the indirect and, to a certain extent, inconsistent growth of the social services. *Laissez faire* was triumphant.

The first serious jolt to Victorian complacency came when the depression of 1873-1886 hit British farming. At last the new low-cost farming areas of the world were shipping food in large amounts to high-cost Britain, where the necessary yield per acre in money terms had to be nearly twice as high to cover expenses. Steam transportation had now cut the cost of carriage by land and by sea. Everything went wrong at once. Britain had a series of poor harvests after 1874. Disease beset the crops and the animals. Without protection, the British farmer was defenseless against the low prices of the period. The gradual abandoning of tillage began, until in 1891 England had only 798,000 agricultural laborers as against 996,000 in 1871.

It would have been a wise man indeed who could have guessed that the train of events leading to the food shortages of the twentieth century had now been set in motion. Some exponents of "tariff reform" were brave enough to fight the current religion of *laissez faire,* but their small successes were limited to the field of imperial preference. Industry soon recovered from the depression and continued to expand its foreign sales, little deterred by the marked tendency towards higher tariffs abroad that showed itself after the late 1870's.

A new factor now appeared in English external economic relations; the extensive use of invisible exports to pay for foreign food and to right the increasingly adverse balance of commodity trade. From the investment abroad of the enormous sums of capital accumulated at home, from the earnings of British merchant ships as they carried the bulk of the world's trade, and from the earnings of financial institutions in London, "the financial center of the world," enough foreign exchange became available to pay for the needed food and raw materials and more. British agriculture might be dying a lingering death, but that was a necessary casualty in the use of an efficient and complex economic machine.

In the last years of the century, those with the sharpest eyes could already see disquieting signs for industry as well as for agriculture, but the public failed to grasp the situation until the depressed and troubled times following World War I brought it home. British industry was growing old and set in its ways, and brawny youngsters were coming up from behind to outstrip it.

In 1870-74 Britain's output of pig iron exceeded that of the United States, Germany and France combined. By 1900-04 Britain was in third place in spite of the growth of her own industry, with the American output about double that of the British and with Germany edging ahead. In coal production Britain's

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share dropped from two-thirds in the early 1870's to one-fourth in the year of her peak production, 1913. In cotton spinning Britain maintained the leadership up to 1913, if the number of spindles is used as the measure, but the coarser products of the American mills were already using a larger amount of raw cotton.

An even more disturbing aspect of the British position, if only it had been observed and analyzed sufficiently early, was the continued centering of manufacture on the three traditional staples, while other countries were making progress in the manufacture of new and more varied products. In 1905 the three industrial groups, coal mining, iron and steel (including engineering and shipbuilding) and textiles, accounted for about 46 per cent of the value added by manufacture in British industry. In the same year textiles made up 38 per cent of the country's exports.

The chief reason for the public's lack of understanding of Britain's growing disadvantages was the fact that, in general, the products of the newer countries, especially the United States and Germany, tended to be used at home in rapidly growing domestic economies, while Britain's entered more extensively into the country's expanding foreign commerce. In spite of its absolute growth, however, the proportion of international trade belonging to Britain fell from 22 per cent in 1871-75 to 15 per cent in 1913.

Another excuse for ignoring the onrushing competition of other countries was furnished by the extraordinary expansion of British investments abroad, particularly from 1905 onward. Even the effects of the crisis of 1907 failed to stop the outpouring of British capital into Canada, Argentina, the United States and other countries, into railroads, public utilities, mines, factories and plantations, in such a volume that even the record year of 1872 was surpassed. Truly it seemed that Britain could pay for any conceivable volume of imported foods and raw materials and prosper further by the exchange.

The stage was now fully set. If the first world war had not broken out, the realization of the problems springing out of the terms of Victorian prosperity would have come more slowly. World War I accelerated the recognition of basic difficulties by illuminating the problem of old age in industry, producing acute food shortages, revealing sore spots in the staple industries and biting into the surplus capital available for foreign investment. The disasters of World War II were to convert problems into crises.

The Liberal Industrial Inquiry's report, *Britain's Industrial Future*, published in 1928, gave evidence that the pre-1914 section of the cycle could already be seen in perspective. The authors wrote:

> The material success which attended the Victorian era was dazzling to those who first witnessed it, and particularly to those who enjoyed the lion's share of its fruits. And for most of the period accordingly the predominant mood was an uncritical business complacency. From the repeal of the corn laws in 1846 to the London

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dock strike in 1889, Britain enjoyed a freedom from fundamental economic controversy as has by no means been common in the history of human society. . . .

There were signs before the war of a change in the . . . conditions on which our Victorian progress had been based. . . . The coming of oil indicated a challenge to the monopoly of coal as a source of fuel. Moreover, there were disquieting signs that Britain was losing ground in the relative efficiency of her manufacturing and business technique, and that in some respects we were falling behind the United States and Germany. There was reason to doubt whether we were not relying too much on casual, rule-of-the-thumb competitive enterprise, and too little upon scientific research and deliberate organization. However, our world-wide commercial connections, the position of London as the financial center of the world, our overwhelming preponderance in shipping, the wide extent of the British Empire and the advantages derived from Empire markets, and the fact that we were the chief suppliers of capital to overseas countries, stood us in good stead. . . . Though the challenge to our supremacy was becoming more insistent, we were still able to maintain our leadership in international commerce. . . .

When the war ended and the short-lived post-war boom was over, Great Britain found herself faced not merely with internal dislocation, but with her pre-war international difficulties so gravely increased as to create a completely new situation.

(The second article in the series will deal with the "completely new situation" after World War I to which the above quotation from *Britain's Industrial Future* refers.)

Field Marshal Lord Maitland Wilson on George Marshall: "Nice fellow. Rather odd though. Reads books."

* * *

Ipswich, Massachusetts, is using old patrol wagons for milk deliveries. The only trouble driver Jack Duff reports is that "some old stay-out-all night is always trying to climb in the back, muttering 'I'll go quietly, boys'."

* * *

Why internal revenue collectors smile:
"I'm very glad to send you this year's taxes. When my husband saw how much he owed last year, he swore off liquor and hasn't touched a drop since."

* * *

Douglass Silver protesting President Truman's eating California prunes in the first day of his Key West vacation: "Eating prunes in Florida is as inappropriate as eating rat cheese in Switzerland—it just isn't done. We are rushing the President a bushel of our finest Indian River citrus to give him a chance to rectify this gastronomical —and perhaps political—error."

—*Quote*

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P.R. stands on its record

Proportional Representation: Objections and Replies

By William Redin Woodward and George H. Hallett, Jr.

Co-editors of the Proportional Representation Department, *The National Municipal Review*

In the January and February issues, Messrs. Woodward and Hallett explained the two basic forms of proportional representation in current use, pointed out its advantages over more traditional methods, such as the single-member district system, and reviewed its record here and abroad. This concluding discussion is based on the Hare system of P.R., which was explained fully in "How Democratic Are Our Representative Systems?" Forum, *January, 1947.*

ALTHOUGH more than a hundred years have passed since the appearance of Thomas Gilpin's pamphlet containing the first explanation of a thoroughgoing proportional system, the subject of proportional representation still possesses all the earmarks of a fresh controversy. As we pointed out in February's *Forum,* P.R. has been used in a number of cities in this country for years and even more widely in democratic countries abroad. Yet proposals for the adoption of P.R. in new areas are commonly met with arguments which treat it as an untried political theory and which predict consequences that experience does not bear out.

Much of the resistance encountered by attempts to introduce or extend P.R. arises simply from the fact that many people are unaware of the shortcomings of the single-member district system as a system of democratic representation and are uninformed about the generally favorable experience with P.R. Such resistance may be uninformed and even uncritically traditional but it is generally honest and does not seek to mislead. Its chief fault is that it stresses the *form* of our democratic tradition and overlooks the deepest *substance.* It was pointed out in our first article that the basic aim of P.R. is the incorporation of the fundamental democracy of early New England town meetings into the representative institutions of modern cities and states.

The opposition of individuals or political groups that have a vested interest in the defective features of present political institutions cannot be taken at face value. Voters have turned to P.R. in this country where the political system has degenerated into a boss-ridden, one-party system (with the opposition party purely nominal and perhaps sometimes owing some obligations to the bosses of the dominant party). Groups which thrive on the per-

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petration of outright corruption or on the toleration of a liberal amount of "honest graft" naturally fear a scheme which will promote the control of public affairs by the people themselves, i. e., by the leaders the people prefer.

There are many people with vested interests in democratically defective institutions: those in public employment who fear (sometimes without reason, so far as their own line of work is concerned) that a reformed government would result in fewer jobs on the public payroll; those with profitable contractual relations with existing governmental regimes who fear that any substantial reshuffling of political personnel, offices and agencies may leave them without their former profitable contacts; those who have learned how to take advantage of the present system to give special advantage to their party or to particular candidates and wish to retain the full advantage of their special experience for their own or for partisan purposes; and finally those who have merely learned whom to see and what to do under present institutions, enough to "get along," and who do not want to learn any new political habits (which they fancy to be chiefly designed to help people less adept at "getting along").

Proportional representation provides the most powerful democratic ballot which a voter, who makes his own political judgments, can have whether he prefers to adhere to a political party and to advance its interests, or whether he prefers complete political independence and dissociation. Both the rank-and-file party voter and the independent non-party voter can benefit from the greater control which P.R. lodges democratically in the people. Party leadership, though it rarely appreciates P.R. at first, also profits indirectly from the competition for honest and able service which results from the greater effectiveness of the ballot under P.R. The latter point is illustrated by Mrs. Genevieve B. Earle, Minority Leader of the New York City Council, who attained official party candidacy after she had won three P.R. elections without her party's support.

Proportional representation is commonly held to be incompatible with a two-party system. But the fact is that two-party systems sometimes thrive under P.R., as has been the case in Tasmania and Eire (the minor parties in Eire are hardly more significant than minor parties in this country). Multi-party systems have appeared under P.R. chiefly in countries that have previously had a similar multiplicity of parties under plurality systems as, for example, France, Germany and the Netherlands.

A two-party system can not only thrive under P.R., but it can be a fairer, more resilient and more successful instrument of public opinion than under the single-member district plan. Cincinnati, for example, has a two-party system but not the nominal two-party system it had for 40 years before adopting P.R. Instead of a so-called "two-party" system in which one party dominated the city with a compact, boss-led minority, Cincinnati now has a two-

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party system in which consideration of the merits of the issues tends to govern the division of votes in the city council. Proportional representation of factions within major parties enables the true majority view to prevail in cases in which it would be over-ruled under other systems.

There are instances, however, in which the political division of opinion is such that a two-party system fails to satisfy the people. They then establish substantial third parties as they would under the old systems of representation. Thus the Irish Home Rule question split the British two-party system towards the end of the nineteenth century. It became a three-party system again during the period between World Wars, as the Labor party gradually took the place of the Liberal party. The two-party frame was not adequate for the issues of American politics from the founding of the Free Soil party in 1848 until Lincoln's election in 1860, although it was not until the election of 1856 that the third-party vote reached important proportions. When political transition places issues above parties, the need for P.R. becomes particularly important as our older institutions then show their most glaring defects. By preventing a minority faction from dominating a party, P.R. might in such cases preserve the two-party system.

There are many instances in which the classic two-party system of Anglo-American tradition can hardly be expected to work out satisfactorily, at least not for a long while. Thus, in international affairs, every nation will wish to maintain its complete political identity until the nations have a great deal more confidence in each other. Proportional representation would be much more satisfactory than corridor combinations in the selection of Security Council members, Economic and Social Council members and members for the various other organs of the United Nations. Indeed, if arrangements are ever made to provide representation in the United Nations not merely for delegates of governments, but for delegates representing at least the major political groups within each nation, P.R. would again be the fairest way to accomplish the result. In any event, there would be no possibility of an international two-party system, when so few nations have internal two-party systems.

Although P.R. does not interfere with party alignments when they are established on a basis of real popular wishes, it can produce fair results in a wide variety of situations where formally organized factions would not be expected to arise. Thus it can be used to advantage in the election of directing committees for labor unions, political parties, educational and civic associations, co-operatives and other economic enterprises—anything in which people with a considerable range of opinion should be represented. Perhaps a great deal of economic discord arising from the presence of different labor unions in the same factory or industry might be settled by the selection of works councils and collective bargaining representatives by P.R. There is no reason

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why a union organization with a bare majority of employees in a factory should be able to monopolize the negotiations with the common employer. Granted that a majority decision by employee representatives should in certain instances bind the group, it does not follow that representatives of the minority of the employees should not take part in the contract negotiations.

SPLINTER PARTIES

It is often asserted that P.R. promotes the formation of "splinter" parties, sometimes extremist in nature and sometimes merely superfluous. Small minor parties have been formed in England and America under the sway of the single-member district system. Indeed, Canada and England are standing examples of the formation and survival of the "third," "fourth" and "fifth" parties which occasionally grow up out of "minor" status. So far as the larger "third" parties are concerned, both Eire and Tasmania have kept closer to the two-party system under P.R. than either England or Canada has been able to do in the last 20 or 30 years under the single-member district system. Indeed, the best form of P.R. probably operates to prevent excessive formation of "splinter" parties. When all the important factions of large parties are assured a fair share of representation, the greatest cause of party schisms is removed. Factional disputes are then far less likely to result in the formation of a "splinter" group. For example, the formation of the Progressive party in 1912 split the Republican party and enabled a Democrat, Woodrow Wilson, to win the Presidency with a minority of the popular vote. This split was caused by the unfair advantage of a minority faction of the Republican party which controlled an overwhelming majority of the delegates to the nominating convention. If P.R. preserves the balance between party factions in the election of representatives to public office, and especially if the major parties adopt it in the selection of their own party councils, the stability of the two-party system can be expected to increase rather than to diminish.

Proportional representation is also said to promote the formation of racial and religious blocs. Experience shows that the emphasis on racial and religious lines is no greater under P.R. than under other systems. Under the single-member district system, such issues are often played up, depending upon the issues in a particular district, to the great dismay of voters in such districts who are interested in other issues. Under P.R., there are many instances in which they have been unexpectedly played down. Thus, in the P.R. election in New York City in 1941, when a certain Negro candidate was defeated, the ballots standing in his favor were transferred to the next choices of the respective voters (in accordance with the procedure outlined in the first article of this series). It was found that 16,380 of these next choices were for a white candidate from the same political faction (the "Tammany" Democrats). Only

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2,476, less than one-sixth as many, were in favor of the only other Negro candidate in the contest (who was backed by a more radical faction of the same party). Clearly, political orientation was more important than racial factors in the minds of those voters. A similar situation was shown when a Jewish candidate, Ornstein, was eliminated in the same election. Upon transfer of ballots to next choices, 3,912 went to Nugent, an Irish-American, and 3,449 went to Stoute, one of the Negro candidates. Isaacs and Straus, two eminent Jewish candidates of different political affiliation, received only 1,431 and 2,161, respectively. A study of election returns has shown similar figures with respect to national origin groups. If this is what happens in Manhattan (which includes Harlem and the Lower East Side), it may be safely concluded that P.R. will cause no serious increase of racial and religious tensions anywhere it may be used!

A related argument holds that P.R. increases the bargaining power of the minorities. As a general proposition that is not true. The single-member district system exaggerates the power of some minorities and practically deprives other minorities of any power at all, according to how the district lines are drawn and what the political situation is. P.R. not only gives minorities, deprived of political power under other systems, a voice in public affairs, approximately in proportion to size, but it also reduces the power of minorities which may have obtained more than a fair share of power. When rival political forces are almost evenly matched, nothing can prevent minority groups or factions from enjoying the advantage of "balance of power," whatever the method of election. But under P.R. there is the safeguard that no minority will enjoy the further advantages of over-representation as well which is frequently the result under the single-member district system.

These objections relating to splinter parties, power of minorities and racial blocs are often included in the argument that P.R. makes legislation more difficult. The same answers apply. Those who make the arguments in this last form generally have a theoretical and rather unreal notion of the process of legislation. Whenever the division of political opinion is not lopsided, legislation is not merely a matter of party policy and party responsibility but is a complicated business of factions, special groups, lobbies and personalities, fitting into party frameworks only in a loose and general way. The theory that reasonably good legislation is a simple process under the single-member district system is, of course, totally refuted by the case of pre-war France. This theory is largely a product of the British school of political thought, based on the relatively higher degree of party discipline under the British parliamentary system. A British cabinet has powers to require consideration of its proposals, which simplifies the process of legislation quite apart from any effect of the system of representation. No American executive authority has any such powers.

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or does American legislative leadership generally presume to exercise such control, with the result that American legislation involves an extraordinary amount of pulling and hauling. Why anyone should think that the proportional representation of the political forces in the community would make the American process any more difficult is hard to imagine.

LOCAL REPRESENTATION

When P.R. is applied to a wide region, it is usually applied by districts, with each district electing a number of representatives so that the principles of P.R. may operate to provide minority representation. For smaller areas like cities, where central counting of ballots is easily feasible, the entire area may be a single district. The districts must naturally be larger than in the case of single-member districts, if the same total number of representatives is to be elected. It is sometimes contended that this deprives local interests of their proper representation. But that view overlooks the fact that in a P.R. election it is not necessary for a candidate to obtain a majority or even a plurality in the district as a whole. He need obtain only a quota—only just more than one-sixth of the votes if five are to be elected, one-seventh if six are to be elected, and so on. Those who vote for him may be concentrated in some part of the district if local issues are paramount. P.R. leaves it to the voters to determine whether local issues or other interests (occupational, general political outlook) are to determine the followings of the representatives chosen. What group is better fitted than the voters as a whole to determine that question? Are the voters wrong if they sometimes put other issues ahead of the post office buildings and harbor improvements that local builders and real estate speculators find so important? The recent hearings on the election of Senator Bilbo, (see *Forum,* February) indicate, if anything, that the "local" interests of contractors sometimes have an excessive influence in American politics that is hardly worth preserving. Local interests of a truly civic nature are more likely to be helped than handicapped by proportional representation of the voters in public councils.

Is P.R. too complicated? It is certainly not too complicated to be used, since it has been adopted without trouble by a number of cities that did not even bother to hire outside experts to supervise its first use, but used their regular election commissions. The argument that P.R. is too complicated, furthermore, tacitly assumes that the present system will do (which is often the major question). The question of whether a system is *too* complicated depends on how much one wants an improvement. An automobile is certainly more complicated than a bicycle, but that does not make it an inferior form of transportation. Nor is it impossible for a person to drive a car who could not build an automobile or explain clearly all its mechanism. He may, in addition to knowing how to drive it, really know that an automobile is more desirable than a bicycle for his purposes, although his under-

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standing of the mechanism is general rather than particular.

Actually the single-member district system is not as simple as it looks. Relatively few citizens know the principles (gerrymander) by which the politicians seek to draw up district lines for special advantage to the dominant party. Few are acquainted with the details of the procedure for putting the name of an independent candidate on the ballot. Still fewer know the hurdles in the way of getting a new party or a small, old party on the ballot. Many do not know how widely different the various state rules are with respect to eligibility for voting in party primary elections. In fact, for many the very inconvenience of bothering with two elections, a primary and a final election to fill but one set of offices, is much more troublesome than voting a single preferential ballot.

It is true that a good number of names usually appear on the P.R. ballot in each contest, but it is generally no more than would appear on the various primary ballots, put together, for the same number of representative offices under the single-member district system. Under P.R., the voter is not obliged to know all the names, since his ballot can count only for one. To take full advantage of P.R., he need only know enough of those whom he favors to be sure that his vote will count for one of them.

It is likewise true that the counting of ballots under P.R. generally takes somewhat longer than the more common procedure. It must be noted, however, that in the recently instituted safeguards for ele tion results under the single-mem ber district system in New Yor requiring a re-check of voting-m chine totals, it is generally wee before the result is known finally some districts. The same thing often true in close elections els where. The basic question is aga whether hurried news of the resul is more important than fair repr sentation. The recent experienc with recanvassing of votes in Ne York contests as a regularly requi ed procedure reveals that a mo deliberate counting procedure hel to avoid decisive mistakes, as well fraud. The central counting of ba lots under P.R. has doubtless co tributed to the generally excelle record of P.R. election for hones in counting.

As we have shown, the most com plete answer to the various obje tions made to P.R. lies in the reco of actual experience with the sy tem. That experience confirms t fact that proportional represent tion is practical and has broug forth at least a modicum of politic improvement where it has be adopted. There is no serious reas for refusing to go forward fro the principle of the equal vote t that of equal representation—whi means proportional representatio true majority rule resulting from true reflection of the whole electo ate. For proportional represent tion is simply the application, t representative institutions, of th basic principle of democracy origi ally embodied in the town meetin the very core of the American dem ocratic tradition.

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ponents fear
e United States

Australia's Battle of Bretton Woods

By Louise Overacker

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Miss Overacker has received a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council to make a study of the Australian party system. Her first article, "Australia's Post-War Election," appeared in the December, 1946, issue.

AUSTRALIA will ratify the Bretton Woods agreements. he favorable action of the federal rliamentary Labor party, March brought to an end a long, acri-onious debate which threatened rty unity and came close to strain-g the cordial relationship be-ween Australia and the United tates. Mr. Chifley, the Prime Minister, has won an important rty victory. To Americans, how-ver, the emphasis in the discussions as fully as important as the out-me, for the opposition came rgely from left-wing Laborites hose distrust of the economic pol-ies of the United States, at home nd abroad, colored their attitude ward the plan.

Within the Cabinet, the plan was gorously opposed by the Honor-ble E. J. Ward, Minister for ransport, who, as early as March, 946, had fired the first shot in the Battle of Bretton Woods." Mr. Ward is the darling of many trade nionists and is widely heralded as he leader of the Labor party's "left ing."

Although participation in the Bretton Woods plan was never dis-ussed at party conferences, it received the endorsement of the Federal Executive. Upon this smaller body, composed of two representatives from each state, rests responsibility for interpreting party policy on all questions arising between interstate conferences, which affect federal parliamentary members. The vote of the Federal Executive was taken on November 26, 1946, the week following the Cabinet's favorable action. According to the press, the vote was carried by the close margin of seven to five.

Endorsed by narrow votes in the Cabinet and the Federal Executive, Bretton Woods was brought before the Caucus early in December. According to well established Labor party procedure, matters to be introduced in Parliament are first discussed in party caucus. If they involve platform principles, all members are pledged to support the action of the majority. After a warm debate and a narrow vote, the Caucus refused to support the Cabinet's recommendation, deciding instead to postpone action until the question could be considered by an interstate conference. The Australian press, most of which is violently anti-Labor, featured the action as

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a "humiliating defeat" for Mr. Chifley, and a triumph for Mr. Ward and the left wing. Mr. Ward had won the skirmish, but in the end the Prime Minister won the battle.

As a call for a special interstate conference requires the favorable action of the executives of four of the six states, the action of the Caucus transferred the battle from Canberra to the states. During the next two months, Bretton Woods was the subject of lively discussions among the rank and file of the Labor party. It was considered at meetings of the local branches, which form what might be called the "unit cells" of the party; in New South Wales, the Workers' Educational Association sponsored a series of forums which elicited keen interest. In its issue of January 17, *The Standard*, the somewhat stodgy weekly of the Australian Labor Party, adopted the unusual course of publishing two articles, one by Mr. Ward opposing the plan, and one by Mr. J. J. Dedman, Minister for Post-War Reconstruction, supporting it. Lines were forming for a battle in the Federal Conference which might bring to the boiling point serious differences of opinion on this and other questions, which had been simmering below the surface for some time. The Liberal and Country parties fondly hoped that Mr. Ward's opposition to Bretton Woods might flare into revolt and split the party. Such dissension within the ranks of Labor might well tip the scales in favor of an Opposition victory in the coming state elections, and pave the way for control of the federal gover ment. But while the rank and fi of the Labor party prepared fo battle, Mr. Chifley was quietly vi iting capitol cities. Early in Fe ruary came the anticlimactic new that the executives of only thre states favored a special conferenc hence no conference would be held The states supporting a conferen were Queensland, South Australi and Victoria.

The move for an interstate con ference having failed, the federa Caucus was free to reconsider th question on its merits. Favorabl action was taken on March 6, jus after left-wing criticism had bee softened by Mr. Chifley's recom mendations for tax reductions whic would relieve some of the pressur upon lower income groups. Pres reports indicated that although th vote was by a safe margin (33 t 24), it followed a heated debate i which opponents endeavored unsuc cessfully to refer the question t the next regular interstate confer ence, and to leave members free t follow the dictates of their ow consciences when the matter can before Parliament.

Once the Labor party had acte favorably, the necessary parliamen tary approval was assured. In th House of Representatives, the rati fying bills were warmly supporte by the leaders of both oppositio parties and no member of the Labo party rose to oppose the bills. Mr Ward was silent, but many of hi arguments were voiced by Mr Lang, now an Independent, wh struck out against the plan with hi usual vehemence. When the divisio was taken in the House, March 20

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ıly five votes were recorded in op-
›sition. No Labor member voted
ɜainst the bills, but Mr. Ward
ıd one other member of the party
›stained from voting. Approval
' the Senate quickly followed. The
'tion comes too late for Australia
› become a foundation member of
ıe Bank and the Monetary Fund,
ıt there is every reason to believe
ıat she will be welcomed into those
ganizations.

UBLIC OPINION

Listening to the Bretton Woods
ebate in Australia, the American
ısitor found himself in a totally
ıfferent climate of opinion than
ıat of the United States when the
ıme question was discussed in
944-45. In the United States, the
'nief opposition came from the
›okesmen for big business and fi-
ance; its most active support was
rom liberals. Government spokes-
ıen took the initiative in encour-
ging debate and disseminating in-
ormation, and the public pressure
enerated by this discussion was im-
›ortant in winning Congressional
ndorsement of the plan. The em-
›hasis in Australia was completely
eversed. Conservatives and mod-
rate members of the Labor party
ɜenerally supported the plan; the
›pposition came from left-wing
ɜabor members who saw in it a
hreat to the standard of living of
he Australian wage earner. A
'conspiracy of silence" on the part
›f Mr. Chifley and other Cabinet
upporters of Bretton Woods made
t possible for its opponents to seize
he initiative, establish certain mis-
ıpprehensions, and arouse tradition-
ıl prejudices before the arguments
for the plan were even presented.
It was a confusing, onesided debate
which becomes understandable,
however, when interpreted in the
light of Labor party history, espe-
cially of the depression era. Rightly
or wrongly, many members of the
Labor party hold firmly to the thesis
that the "Premiers' Plan" was the
source of all Australia's ills during
the depression, and that Sir Otto
Niemeyer was the "villain of the
piece." The Premiers' Plan, so-
called because it was framed at a
joint meeting of the Prime Minister
of the Commonwealth, Mr. Scullin,
and the premiers of the states, in-
cluded recommendations for wage
reductions and other economies
which were bitterly resented by the
wage earners, and which caused a
serious split in the Labor party. At
that time Australia was heavily in-
debted to England, and Sir Otto
Niemeyer visited Australia during
the negotiations. Opponents of the
Premiers' Plan have always insisted
that it was forced upon an unwill-
ing Australia by Sir Otto, repre-
senting that stronghold of capital-
ism, the Bank of England, and that
the advice of this wicked "overseas
gentleman" was responsible for the
unemployment, reduction in living
standards and misery of those years.
During the discussion of Bretton
Woods, the ghosts of the depression,
never quite laid to rest, were made
to walk again. With this, the op-
ponents of the plan attempted to
combine a revival of the traditional
"isolationism," which was so im-
portant in the thinking of the Labor
movement of the past, but which
was so largely abandoned during the
recent war.

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Briefly, the case against Bretton Woods ran as follows. The plan was a "trap" prepared by American bankers to control international finance. It was an "ultimatum," not an agreement. Australia's participation in the plan would enable "foreign bankers" to control her internal economy, jeopardize her program of full employment, and reduce the living standards of the worker. The United States will dominate the machinery of the Monetary Fund; the "reactionary" policy of the present government of the United States will inevitably result in depression, and it is unwise to tie Australia to an economy "which faces collapse." The opponents of the plan foresaw a depression in which the Wall Street banker would be cast in the role of the "big, bad wolf," played by Sir Otto Niemeyer in 1930-31.

SUPPORT

The supporters of Bretton Woods very wisely refrained from claiming that it would cure all the world's economic ills. They pointed out that its inspiration was more Keynesian than American; that its machinery was controlled by *governments,* not *private bankers;* that full employment at home was dependent upon full employment abroad, and that the machinery of Bretton Woods would contribute to international stability. Finally, they emphasized that a depression in the United States would affect Australia's economy whether she were a participant or not, and that the consequences might be worse if she were outside rather than inside the plan. Speakers frequently echoed the ominous words of Dr. Coomb at the January meetings of the In stitute of Political Science, "As goc the United States, so goes the res of the world."

All agreed that international ecc nomic stability was more dependen on trade policies than financial pol icies, and that a satisfactory out come of the Geneva trade confer ences was essential to the success o the Bretton Woods plan. Even Mr Chifley's recommendation to Parlia ment carried the proviso that con tinuing membership of the Fun and the Bank was to be reviewe when the results of the internationa trade discussions were known.

Although some of the more vio lently anti-Labor newspapers wer hopeful that Mr. Chifley's victory in the Caucus would not end th "Battle of Bretton Woods," mod erate counsels prevailed. Mr. War did not vote for Bretton Woods, i is true, but he did not vote agains it. Party members have paid a least lip service to the appeal fo unity with which Mr. Chifley end ed the Caucus. Although ther may be reverberations of the con troversy in future party confer ences, there will be no earthquake The failure of any considerable part of the Labor party to respond to the feverish efforts of a hostile press and demagogic speakers to raise the ghost of Sir Otto, is evi dence of how far the party has moved during World War and Post-War II. Today the members of the Labor movement are think ing more in terms of international cooperation than of isolation.

Mr. Chifley has won his point, but many who agreed with his ob-

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jective are extremely critical of the tactics which he employed. Why were the people left in the dark for so long regarding the details of agreements of such far-reaching importance? The active participation of the rank and file in the formulation of policy has been one of the cardinal principles of the Labor party. This implies confidence in the judgment of the common man, and imposes upon the leaders the responsibility of making available essential information and of encouraging discussion. Otherwise a sound common judgment is impossible. On a matter as technical as Bretton Woods, the job of education was the more important because it was the more difficult. Yet it is doubtful if there would have been any general discussion of the agreements if Mr. Ward had not forced the issue.

Mr. Chifley's failure to trust the people was not fatal in this instance. There is serious disunity within the party over industrial policy and the implementation of the party's avowed socialist objective, which may yet culminate in a successful revolt under Mr. Ward's leadership. If that time comes, Mr. Ward's willingness to take his case to the rank and file, and trust in their judgment, may greatly strengthen his hand. For throughout its history, the Labor party has insisted that its leaders must serve, rather than dominate. Mr. Chifley's methods were in sharp contrast to those of his immediate predecessor, Mr. Curtin, who, in handling the highly explosive conscription question and other difficult issues during the War, was careful to submit them to the Executive or Conference before they reached the Cabinet stage.

The United States may well give serious thought to some of the implications of the arguments raised in the Bretton Woods debate in Australia. "As goes the United States, so goes the rest of the world," is a sobering thought. Australians fully appreciate the economic and financial importance of the United States. Recognition of the key position of the United States in the world's economy was accompanied by the fear that a reactionary government was so ordering the internal economy of the United States that a repetition of the "boom, bust" cycle was inevitable. Throughout the debate they were haunted by the fear that the present policies of the United States endangered the standard of living of an Australia to which "full employment" is the first article of faith.

It is a debate with both a challenge and a warning. To the exponents of "'free enterprise" in the United States, there is a challenge to implement the policy of full employment to which they have paid lip service, and to avoid another depression. To the United States as a nation, there is the warning that if we attempt to interfere in Australia's internal economy and disaster follows, we shall be held responsible for all her ills, and lose that high place in the national esteem in which we were so firmly established under Roosevelt's leadership.

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Empire dissolution without bloodshed

The Independence Boom

By Elmer Plischke

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ASIDE from the establishment of the United Nations system and the drafting of the peace treaties, the most significant, and certainly one of the most encouraging, international developments today is the two-fold trend towards empire-dissolution and colonial independence. Never before in history has there been a more extensive independence-ward gravitation of established colonies with such a minimum of bitter struggle and bloodshed.

The race for overseas empires in modern times began with the great explorations of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and continued until the termination of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, when for a time it became unfashionable, or uneconomic, to conquer new worlds. The contest was revived in Africa after 1870 and continued down to World War I. The chief reason for its cessation at that time was simply the absence of further prospective colonial territory. Further acquisitions could only be made by wresting territory from existing empires, which proved impossible without the risk of war.

Prior to World War I, the trend, therefore, was largely in the direction of empire-building. It is true, however, that some colonial areas managed to achieve independence during this period of colonial integration, but this generally involved revolutionary warfare against the mother country. The American Revolution led the way in 1776. It was followed in the early nineteenth century by the revolt of Brazil from Portugal, and of Mexico, the Central American Confederation, Greater Colombia (Colombia and Venezuela), Peru, the United Provinces of La Plata (Argentina), and Chile from Spain. These revolts freed most of the continental areas of the Western Hemisphere, except Canada, from European colonial ties and domination.

Much of the present trend in "decolonialization" and independence is traceable to certain ideological concepts developed at the time of World War I, especially the principle of self-determination. Not actually using this phrase in his original Fourteen Points, President Wilson nevertheless, in attempting to crystallize his interpretation of Allied war aims, made a number of specific territorial proposals based on self-determination. Besides urging the evacuation of occupied Belgium (Point 7), France (Point 8), and the Balkans (Point 11), and the restoration of an independent Poland (Point 13), he applied self-determination or autonomous devel-

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opment on the basis of national interests to the problem of Italian frontiers (Point 9), the peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Point 10), the Balkan States (Point 11), and the non-Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire (Point 12). He favored the impartial adjustment of all colonial claims according to the interests of the populations concerned as well as the colonial governments (Point 5).

Subsequently, President Wilson re-iterated his determination to satisfy "well-defined national aspirations." This policy, considered to be "dynamite" by his Secretary of State Robert Lansing, raised a variety of both realizable and unrealizable hopes all over the world.

On the continent, Poland was established as an independent state, incorporating territory formerly held by Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. The Baltic States —Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland—achieved their independdence from Russia. By the treaties of St. Germain and Trianon, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was dissolved, and Austria and Hungary reduced to truncated remnant states. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia acquired complete independence. Additional territorial changes were made in the Balkans on the basis of national interests, but at the expense of Bulgaria which had made the mistake of joining the Central Powers.

The Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey, ostensibly intending the severance of all non-Turkish territory, gave birth to an autonomous Armenian Republic and provided for a series of "free zones" in various Turkish ports of alleged international interest. This treaty, however, was short-lived. Before it could be executed, a revolution of Turkish nationalists under Mustafa Kemal cast off the victor's bridle, drove the foreign forces out of Anatola, and paradoxically fixed Turkish boundaries in accordance with the principle of nationality.

The non-Turkish sections of the former Ottoman territory nevertheless were detached and converted into Class A mandates under the League of Nations. These included Syria and Lebanon (mandated to France), and Iraq (or Mesopotamia), Palestine, and Transjordan (mandated to Britain). In addition, the colonies of Germany were detached by the Versailles Treaty and established as League mandates: Class B mandates for central African colonies, and Class C mandates for Western Pacific islands and the territory of Southwest Africa.

We are thus forced to the inescapable conclusion that the principle of self-determination was forcibly imposed upon defeated Russia and the vanquished Central Powers, but was not applied reciprocally by the victors against either their continental holdings or their colonies. That stage in the development of self-determination has had to await the conclusion of World War II.

The principle of self-determination was again emphasized in a number of policy statements and agreements as one of our primary objectives in World War II. Even

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before Pearl Harbor, the late President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill agreed in the Atlantic Charter, August 14, 1941, that the United States and the United Kingdom "desire to seek no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned" and that "they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

WORLD WAR II

At the Moscow meeting of the Big Three Foreign Ministers, November 1, 1943, it was agreed that, in accordance with enforced self-determination, Austria "shall be liberated from German domination." At the Cairo Conference, a month later, the United States, the United Kingdom, and China agreed that Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores Islands (between Formosa and China) should be returned by Japan to China, and that the former will be "expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed," and that "in due course Korea shall become free and independent."

At the Crimea Conference, February 11, 1945, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Soviet Russia reaffirmed the principles of the Atlantic Charter (which was the first time that the Soviet Union was formally committed to the entire Charter). They agreed to assist European liberated states and former Axis satellite states in the achievement "through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people." At the same time it was agreed, contrary to the principle of self-determination, that "Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the North and West," which territory has since been taken from Germany.

Finally, in the United Nations Charter, signed by 50 states on June 26, 1945, it was agreed that one of the purposes of the new international organization is the development of "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples."

As far as Axis overseas colonies are concerned, Germany had none to lose. Those of Italy have been detached by the Italian peace treaty pending future disposition by the victor nations, and those of Japan are occupied by members of the United Nations awaiting final settlement with Japan in accordance with the Cairo agreement and the future peace treaty.

The lead in voluntary relinquishment of imperial control was taken by the United States under President Herbert Hoover in 1933 with the withdrawal of our occupation marines and the abandonment of financial protectorates in several Caribbean and Central American States, including Haiti, Santo Domingo and Nicaragua. This movement was augmented by President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy, our protectorate over Cuba being abolished in 1934 and over Panama in 1939.

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But our chief contribution was granting complete independence to the Philippine Islands on July 4, 1946, in accordance with the promise we had made 10 years previously. This constituted the first voluntary grant of freedom to a completely colonial people without bloodshed. This was the spark which kindled the flame of present-day independence movements.

Inasmuch as American overseas colonial territory is not extensive, the present trend does not affect us nearly as much as it does the other colonial powers. It is true that the Puerto Ricans, who have been under our hegemony for almost half a century, are wavering between favoring independence or statehood. Alaska and Hawaii definitely favor incorporation through statehood. The few remaining American overseas possessions—such as the Virgin Islands, Tutuila (in the Samoan Group), Guam, Wake, and Midway—obviously would be unable to maintain their independence even if it were granted. In some cases, as is true of Guam, the local population nevertheless is seeking greater autonomy and self-rule.

Following a brief civil war and extended discussions between Indonesian leaders and the Dutch government, the former wealthy East Indian island empire of the Netherlands acquired an agreement providing for the creation of a sovereign East Indian federation to be called the "United States of Indonesia" on January 1, 1949.

This new state will comprise three autonomous units: (1) the Republic of Indonesia consisting of Java, Sumatra, Madura, and probably some smaller adjacent islands; (2) Dutch Borneo (which itself is as large as France); and (3) the "Great East" comprising Celebes, the Moluccas, Dutch New Guinea and the Lesser Sunda Islands. The United States of Indonesia will enjoy independent "dominion" statehood welded to the Dutch empire through an alliance with the Kingdom of the Netherlands to be known as the "Netherlands-Indonesian Union."

In French imperial system, the Class A mandate of Syria-Lebanon achieved questionable independence in 1941, when through joint British-Free French occupation, the forces of Vichy France were forcibly ejected and a republic was proclaimed. Although France sought in vain to re-establish control over Syria in 1945, her forces were finally withdrawn again in 1946. Syria and the Lebanon are certain to retain their freedom.

Recently the French government has reported more self-government for the island of Madagascar, French West and Equatorial Africa. Meanwhile, in the Caribbean, Guadelupe, Martinique and Reunion Islands, together with French Guiana, have been incorporated into the French administrative system as "Departments," and as such are more intimately integrated than before. Tunisia and Morocco, in North Africa, which already enjoyed substantial self-government before the war, will send delegates to a French council under the new national constitution, thus bringing them into closer union with metropolitan France.

The torch of independence burns

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brightly in French Indo-China today, where major colonial hostilities broke out last December. Dissatisfied with the Fontainebleau agreement of March 1946, proposing an Indo-Chinese Federation, the Viet Namese (of northern and eastern Indo-China) are attempting a coup to establish an independent republic dominated by them and including the wealthy Cochin Chinese area in the south. The Viet Namese disavow any desire for complete separation from France, but they wish to remain free from the projected Indo-Chinese Federation. They prefer an independent French dominion status, with their own foreign diplomatic representation and local control of external relations.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The British empire, with the lion's share of colonial territory, is undergoing the greatest number of changes today. The autonomy, if not the complete independence, within the British Commonwealth of the Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Eire, was an established fact before the war. The island of Ceylon, off the southern tip of India, has recently received a new constitution which renders it virtually self-governing and paves the way for dominion status with a few years. Newfoundland, which elected to renounce dominion status in 1933, now is debating whether to become a dominion again.

In the eastern Mediterranean area, the former Class A mandates of Iraq (Mesopotamia) and Transjordan have recently acquired their independence. Iraq was proclaimed to be an independent state in 1932 and was admitted as a member of the League of Nations. While the former British High Commissioner was immediately replaced by a British Ambassador, the transfer of administration into Iraqui hands has taken place gradually. Under article 25 of the Palestinian Mandate, Transjordan, which originally was included in this mandate, was specifically exempted from the terms providing for a Jewish national home. Various steps were gradually taken in the direction of sovereign statehood for Transjordan, culminating in the announcement of the British Government in the United Nations Assembly, January 1946, of complete independence. This was formally recognized by treaty between Great Britain and Transjordan a few months later.

Egypt, whose independence was guaranteed by treaty with Britain in 1936, has seen the last of British troops.

The chief British problem in this area, of course, is the question of Palestinian independence, which is so seriously prejudiced by the struggle for control between Jew and Arab and the tripartite aspirations of Christian, Moslem and Jewish religious interests. Today the issue is further complicated by the important Jewish refugee problem of Europe. Although the British government appears to be more than anxious to be relieved of this perplexing difficulty, it probably will not relinquish its control until there are adequate assurances that perpetual civil war will not result.

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According to recent reports from the British Colonial Office, material grants of greater self-government have been accorded in Africa to Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Kenya and Uganda; in the Caribbean to Jamaica and Trinidad Islands; in the Pacific and the Far East to Fiji and Hongkong; and in the Mediterranean to Malta and Cyprus. Greater control over domestic affairs by the local peoples is being permitted in these areas, but the Colonial Office is careful to point out that this trend is not associated with the present independence movement. Instead, it is simply a matter of turning over more responsibility to indigenous peoples who have been groomed for it through a long period of training. Contrariwise, British North Borneo and Sarawak, in the East Indies, have been more firmly incorporated into the British Empire, coming under direct British rule as crown colonies.

In January, 1947, the Southeast Asiatic dependency of Burma was promised immediate and outright independence by the British government. Temporarily an interim government composed of a British Governor and a native Executive Council will govern, pending the drafting of a new constitution by an Assembly which convened in April. Burma has been granted the right of deciding whether to remain within the Commonwealth as a British dominion, or to sever all ties. It may be anticipated that certain bonds with Britain will remain.

British Malaya, at the southern tip of Southeast Asia with its prewar important base at Singapore, is getting a streamlined administration with a view to eventual autonomy or independence. But the future of Malaya is complicated by the bitter antagonism existing between the indigenous Malayans and the immigrant Chinese. If the British were to withdraw now, the frequently recurring armed clashes between them might break out into open civil warfare and massacre.

The paramount British colonial problem in this area is Indian independence. Despite the recent British commitment to grant India her long-awaited freedom in June, 1948, this will be feasible only if the Indian peoples themselves are able to agree upon a truly satisfactory solution to the problem of adequately maintaining a stable government and avoiding wholesale civil war between the Hindus and the Moslems. If a suitable solution is forthcoming, Indian independence is assured, but the British government will be very pleased if India decides to remain within the Commonwealth.

OTHER AREAS

Though not concerned directly with colonial independence, but closely related to imperialism in general, is the termination during the war of foreign extraterritoriality rights in China, relieving her of former servitudes and limitations upon her sovereignty.

Her neighbor, Korea, long under the hegemony of Japan, is on the way to regaining independence, as agreed upon at Cairo by Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek. Materialization of her freedom merely awaits the resolution of the

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joint but antagonistic Soviet-American occupation of that state and the withdrawal of their troops. Final severance from Japanese domination is assured in the future peace treaty between the United States and Japan.

There remains the future of the former Italian African empire, which, as noted, has been detached by the recent peace treaty signed by Italy. Ethiopia naturally has regained her former independence. The eventual disposition of Italian Somaliland, Eritrea and Cyrenaica, it may reasonably be presumed, will result in some form of British control under the United Nations trusteeship system. The future status of Libya is less certain, but it too will probably be placed under trusteeship.

TRUSTEESHIP

Following World War II, the mandates system automatically suffered the same fate as the League of Nations, of which it was an integral part. When a new international organization came under consideration, not only the status of mandated areas, but also the broader question of the future of dependent areas was subjected to review.

The United Nations Charter, three chapters of which are concerned with trusteeships, provides that member states who are responsible for the administration of territories that are not yet fully self-governing "recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants . . . are paramount." United Nations members agree to promote within dependent areas, a "progressive development towards self-government, or independence, as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

This trusteeship system may be applied to the former mandated areas which have not yet been granted independence, territories detached from enemy states as a result of World War II, and any other territories voluntarily placed under the system by the states administering them. It is to be a matter of subsequent agreement by the states directly concerned as to which territories in these three categories will be brought under trusteeship and upon what terms. These agreements will designate the authority that will administer the territory, and the "administering authority" may be one or more states or the United Nations organization itself.

Farly in 1946 the British government took the initiative, offering to place the African territories of Tanganyika, the Cameroons and Togoland under the trusteeship system, which became effective later in the year.

Of the other states which had mandates under the League, France has acquiesced in trusteeship for French Togoland and the French Cameroons, Belgium for Ruanda-Urundi, New Zealand for Western Samoa, and Australia for New Guinea and the Island of Nauru. The Union of South Africa has brought before the General Assembly of the United Nations its proposal for the incorporation of the mandated territory of South-West Africa into the South African Union.

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The Japanese mandated islands in the Western Pacific—the Carolines, the Marshalls, and the Marianas—are presently under American military occupation administration. The United States government has filed with the United Nations Security Council a request for placing them under American trusteeship as strategic areas, in which she appears to have general approval.

Does the current trend toward independence herald complete disintegration of the former Western imperialist system? Or do recent changes merely constitute a temporary modification of colonial relationships, in which near-independent areas are juggling for an improved status in an attempt to benefit by post-hostilities confusion, thus achieving autonomy or complete freedom before pre-war imperial controls can be reasserted? Only time will be able to resolve these significant questions. One of the tests perhaps will be the rapidity with which states place their own dependent territories under the United Nations trusteeship system.

As far as certain strategic areas are concerned, the controlling states scarcely will relinquish their hard-won hegemony voluntarily. This, no doubt, will be true of British ascendency in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and parts of Africa, and of American control in the Central Pacific and the former Japanese mandated islands.

But in those areas in which the indigenous peoples ultimately acquire full realization of their national consciousness, they doubtless will eventually join the independence movement, seeking like their predecessors to realize latent aspirations under the principle of self-determination. Non-strategic areas, capable of meeting their obligations as sovereign states under international law, may reach the goal of independence more easily.

Finally, while the trend for release of overseas territories by the Western colonial powers may progress rapidly in the temperate and equatorial zones, a new race for territorial control may very likely concentrate on territories located in the polar regions. This is especially true of the Arctic islands, because of their important strategic location for polar aerial control in the present age of rocket propulsion and atomic bombs.

Such polar and sub-polar territories as Alaska, Greenland, Iceland, Spitzbergen, and the Canadian and Soviet Arctic archipelagoes may be expected to increase in imperial strategic significance far beyond the wildest of pre-war expectations.

A "little old lady" was taking her first taxi ride. She became disturbed as the driver kept putting his hand out the window while they were driving through heavy traffic. Finally she said:

"Young man, you just tend to your driving. I'll tell you when it starts to rain."

—*Christian Observer*

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What to do with agricultural surplus

Our Agricultural Policy

By Paul H. Landis

Dean of the Graduate School, State College of Washington

CONTROL the birth rate or starve, was the stark alternative Thomas R. Malthus, English clergyman writing in 1789, set before the world. He saw about him in the England of that day increasing misery and want; population had already outrun nature's capacity to provide food.

His study of the problem led him to conclude that the food supply multiplies by an arithmetic ratio, 1, 2, 3, 4; human population multiplies by a geometric ratio, 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 16. To the extent that man multiplied without restraint, excess numbers would be cut off by war, pestilence and hunger, and human misery would abound. If he, on the other hand, exercised the foresight to practice celibacy, delayed marriage, and continence within marriage, he could voluntarily restrict numbers and remove from human experience the spectre of hunger.

How do Malthus' predictions fit the facts of history?

The white race during the last 200 years has increased from 175,000,000 to 675,000,000, a growth in numbers probably unparalleled in human history. During these two centuries most of the earth's surface has come under the dominance of whites of European origin. They have settled North and South America, Australia and Siberia. Except in temporary crises, such as Europe faces in wartime, there is a greater abundance of food than primitive man or earlier civilizations have ever known.

For almost a half century, and especially for the last two decades, western Europe and the Americas have been chronically disturbed by agricultural surpluses for which there is no effective market. This same part of the globe is again in hailing distance of great agricultural surpluses once the immediate food crisis in Europe is over. Those nations, and especially the American nations, will have bulging granaries and be seeking devices whereby they can dispose of the excesses of foods and fibers which glut their market.

Was Malthus wrong?

Two things have happened in the western world which Malthus did not and could not in his time have foreseen. One was the far-reaching effect of the agricultural revolution which has made it possible for western man to increase greatly the production of foods and fibers and yet spend a comparatively small amount of his energy in so doing. More than 10 years ago, 19 farmers in the United States were providing enough food for 66 people living off farms, 56 of them in the United States and 10 living abroad. Dur-

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ing World War II the United States produced more foods and fibers than at any time in history but with a farm population considerably below the level of 1910 when there were 43 million fewer people in the nation.

The second factor explaining recurrent food surpluses of the western world of recent decades has been a slowing down of population growth. The remarkable increase of the white race previously cited came primarily because the death rate was brought under control. But no sooner had western man begun to bring the death rate under effective control than he gave attention to restricting his birth rate. The restriction of births has become so effective that the white race in the western world has about completed its cycle of rapid population growth. All western European nations, and the American nations as well, are in the zone of urban industrial forces which have produced a low birth rate and which promise a still lower birth rate.

France has suffered serious population decline. All nations of northwestern Europe fear that imminent prospect. Prior to World War II, most European nations were developing population policies designed to increase their birth rate. The problem of increasing the birth rate again will become a major concern throughout those areas of the world characterized by urban industrial civilization. The United States is only a generation behind. Population authorities are predicting that the population of the United States will, within 30 or 40 years, reach a point where deaths balance births. Soon after, in the absence of immigration, population decline will be characteristic.

In contrast to the situation in the western industrialized nations is the situation in Oriental nations where neither birth nor death rates have come under effective control. Malthusian principles seem to operate more or less effectively. Prolific birth rates characterize the vast, densely populated areas of the globe where hoe agriculture and handicraft have persisted throughout the centuries. In these same areas, a relatively uncontrolled death rate wipes out, during the first year of life, as many as a third of the infants born. Throughout childhood, youth and middle age, high death rates are characteristic. In many of these same areas, chronic hunger and malnutrition are the lot of mankind.

In between these two extremes are nations like the Soviet Union, central and southeastern Europe, the Balkans and parts of South America, where the death rate is beginning to be brought under control, as medical science is improved, but where the birth rate still remains high. These areas are destined during the next few generations, to see a huge increase in population until such time as they, too, bring their birth rates under control. It is estimated that the population of Soviet Russia will increase from 174,000,000 (the 1942 population), to 251,000,000 by 1970. At the same time, western European nations will decrease in population from the 1950 peak of about

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237,000,000 to 225,000,000 by 1970.

Eventually, assuming that industrialized civilization is destined to cover the earth, the Orient will come under the spell of urban industrial civilization. The death rate will as a consequence be checked, making for such population increase as the world has never seen. Then gradually the Oriental birth rate will come under control. In the period between gaining control of the death rate and of the birth rate will come the state of rapid population growth.

In the years that lie ahead, can the agricultural abundance of western nations be made available to the starving Orient? Are there any terms on which the Occident and Orient can trade in this long period of history which must transpire before the philosophy and the birth control practices of the eastern and western hemispheres can be harmonized?

This is a problem for statesmen and economic specialists which cannot be answered by brief categorical statements, but some aspects of the problem stand out clearly even now. Unless some way is found to make available the food and fiber surpluses of the western world to the needy peoples of other parts of the globe, North American agriculture faces in the very near future the same problems it faced during the decade of the thirties, and perhaps even more critical problems. Ahead lies further improvement in the productive efficiency of machine agriculture, but a decreasing demand for agricultural products. Ahead is the continuing need for the migration of rural youth to cities to drain off the relatively large crop of youth produced by farms. Full employment in cities is necessary to curb landward migration and the futile settlement of veterans on subsistence farms, such as have long been associated with a low standard of living, education and health in the United States where production on a commercial scale is the only profitable method.

NON-INDUSTRIAL AREAS

So far there is little attempt on the part of agricultural policy makers in the United States to take into account the possibilities of international trade with Oriental peoples. Under our competitive economic system, the prospects of agricultural commodities being distributed on anything but a relief basis to the vast areas of the globe which are plagued with chronic want is almost unthinkable until these nations are ready to restrict their birth rates. Plenty would probably relieve the situation temporarily only. Survival rates would be greater and child bearers in the next generation increased. Policy for extensive food distribution in the Oriental nations which lack a philosophy of controlled population growth must be accompanied by medical information which will begin to break down gradually the folklore and customs which support the practice of unlimited reproduction.

Policy makers in the United States will probably continue to work on the assumption that agricultural policy should leave non-industrial areas of the world out of

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consideration and make its adjustments through national agricultural policies. National agricultural policies may, however, be radically different from those of the depression decade of the nineteen thirties when an economy of scarcity was fostered. Efforts then were directed toward decreasing production and, thereby, increasing prices.

Some leading agricultural policy makers are now advocating an economy of full production. They recognize that agriculture will, as a consequence, very soon be in critical difficulties. Rather, however, than reduce production and increase prices to the consumer, they advocate that the government directly reimburse farmers through subsidy in such a way that they will be able to operate. Some advocate that the Treasury reimburse farmers for the cost of production; others that farmers be paid through the Treasury the difference between the depression price of commodities and pre-depression prices.

Along with these policies, programs for stimulating food consumption are strongly recommended. The food stamp plan in operation during the later part of the depression of the nineteen thirties, through which foodstuffs were made available to relief clients, may point the way to increased food consumption. But this system must be supplemented by much more elaborate devices for food use by all elements of the population. If emphasis in subsidized consumption should be placed on the increased use of health foods such as dairy products, fruits and green vegetables, agricultural policy could become an important factor in correcting deficiencies in the national diet and in increasing the consumer's real level of living.

If such views should come to dominate agricultural policy making, they would make for a much more altruistic and socially minded national program. In the face of world population problems, it is perhaps best that altruistic practices begin first at home.

Overheard in a lunch line: "You don't mean biceps, dear, you mean bicuspids. Biceps are the muscles in your hips."

* * *

Obstacles are those frightful things you see when you take your eyes off the goal.

—*Construction Digest*

* * *

A fierce thunder storm had arisen. The mother of the household, being quite frightened herself, tip-toed into her son's bedroom to see how he was taking it. She found him standing at the window sill, shouting, "Make it louder, God!"

There came a tremendous crash. The boy threw up a hand and shouted, "Atta boy, God!"

—Claire MacMurray in *The Cleveland Plain Dealer*

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The Senate debates fiscal policy

Is Simultaneous Reduction of the Debt and Taxes Possible?

"THE power to tax is the power to destroy" is an old Anglo-Saxon political axiom. It is directly related to the more recent political science concept, "it does not matter how much we owe, so long as we owe it to ourselves." The relationship lies in the fact that we can owe so much that we have the necessity to tax threatening us with economic ruin.

The 1948 budget of the United States is based on the expectation that the income of the United States in the 1947-48 fiscal year will be greater than the income of the United States has ever been through 1946. In the Senate debate which follows,[1] this is clearly brought out by Senator Ferguson (R) of Michigan who gives the figures on the National Income, year by year from 1939 through 1946.

The 1939 National Income was $70 billion. The 1946 income was between $164 and $165 billion, and the estimated 1948 income is $167 billion. Income figures have now reached the point where they have little meaning in conversation no matter how important they may be in fact.

Proofreaders occasionally omit not one zero but three in reporting the Senate's debates. We are spelling out billion or million as the case may be to avoid this error. It is only too easy to make, and it is very important that tax figures and income figures have real meaning. The relationship between wages, prices and profits has had added to it this new and enormous factor of taxes—taxes which may be reaching such proportions that they threaten economic ruin.

Out of the anticipated national revenue of $167 billion, the income of the government of the United States is expected to be $38 billion, 800 million—almost one dollar in every four. Local taxes are increasing, too.

While this budget of the United States was being discussed, the proposed budget for the City of New York exceeded $1 billion for the first time. Incidentally, the budget for New York State is $671 million.

President Roosevelt once made a speech in which he said, "taxes are paid in the sweat of the brow of the man who labors." Besides sounding well, this is true. If General Motors, for instance, has to pay an enormous tax bill in 1948, the high taxes, like high wages, are reflected in the higher price of auto-

1 *The Congressional Record*, Senate, Vol. 93, No. 39; pp. 1583-1593.

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mobiles. They do not come out of the profits of the company because no large corporation and few small ones make a profit of 25 per cent on sales. In fact, it is common sense, as well as common practice, for corporations to report profits after taxes just as their employees think of take-home pay. Corporations must, and do, add in anticipated taxes when they set prices.

The increase of the budget of New York City over the prior year is largely due to cost-of-living salary increases given to transit workers, teachers and other city employees. The budget of the United States and the budget of New York City point up the difficulties inherent in the concept of the service state.

"Few die and none resign" is as true of most civil servants and civil service functions as it is true of Justices of the Supreme Court. The obvious problem of the moment is how we can reduce prices without reducing wages, taxes or profits. How can we increase wages without increasing prices unless we reduce both taxes and profits?

Before the United States entered World War I, the greatest federal government income of any one year was $760 million in 1915. The federal government taxes in 1948 will be about as much in a single day as they were in the year 1915. The New York City budget is also greater than the federal budget of 1915. The anticipated federal revenue for 1947-48 amounts to $285.-00 for every man, woman and child in the United States. In New York City, the city taxes will amount to

—Pease in *The Newark Evening News*

"AROUND AND AROUND"

an additional $130.00 for every man, woman and child in the city. There are state taxes as well as local taxes everywhere. It is easy to understand why many Congressmen think tax reduction is of the first importance, even more important than debt reduction.

Senator Knowland (R) of California insists that the National Debt must be reduced. He thinks that it is now so great that it threatens the "very solvency of the government of the United States." The last year in which the income of the federal government exceeded its expenditures was 1930. In that year, receipts were about $4 billion, 200 million. Expenditures were almost $4 billion. The debt was under $36 billion. Today it is over $258 billion. In 1930 the National Income was $60 billion. The federal taxes were seven per cent of the total income of the country. In 1948 the federal income is expected to be almost 25 per cent of the national income.

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It is Senator Knowland's contention that we must begin to reduce the National Debt now in time of peace. Since the greatest national income in our history is anticipated, debt reduction becomes a question of now or never, in his eyes. The debate which follows shows clearly the necessity for both tax and debt reduction.

THE LEGISLATIVE BUDGET

The Senate resumed the consideration of the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 7) establishing the ceiling for expenditures for the fiscal year 1948 and for appropriations for the fiscal year 1948 to be expended in said fiscal year.

Mr. Taft. Mr. President, I wish to speak briefly on the proposal of the Senator from California to make a compulsory application to the national debt of $3,000,000,000 of any excess. The figures in the resolution, as it has now been amended by the Senate, show that our estimates are $39,100,000,000 for receipts and $33,000,000,000 for expenditures, or a total excess of $6,100,000,000. The application of $3,000,000,000 on the debt would leave approximately $3,000,000,000 available for tax reduction.

My own feeling is very strong that the question of tax reduction is more important at the present time than the question of the reduction of the debt. That is due in part to the fact that we do not have a normal budget. Our expenditures are steadily decreasing. After this year they should be decreased by four or five billion dollars more. There is still a substantial amount of expenditures as a result of the aftermath of the war, which expenditures will disappear in the next year or 2 years.

I believe that a reduction of $3,000,000,000 in the public debt at the present time would not be a good thing for the economy of the country during the next year. I think it should be pointed out that that would mean taking from the people of the United States $3,000,000,000 more than we are paying out. That is to say, we would be reducing the purchasing power of the people by $3,000,000,000.

Furthermore, we are also taxing, and properly charging to the budget, all the receipts for the old-age pension fund, for the unemployment trust fund, for veterans' life insurance, for the federal employees' retirement fund, and for the railroad retirement account, and we are paying out of those funds very much less than we are taking in. In other words, we are taxing the people through those funds approximately $2,700,000,000 more than we are actually paying out of the funds. So the net result, if the amendment of the Senator from California should be adopted, would be to take away from the people of the United States during the next fiscal year approximately $5,780,000,000 more than the Government would pay out.

I doubt whether that is a wise thing to do. The President's Economic Report calls attention to the fact that there is danger of a steady decrease in purchasing power during the next year. He says:

> Maximum production and employment this year would yield a substantial increase in the available supply of consumer goods and services, especially in the area of durable goods. This re-

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quires higher real purchasing power to take the goods off the market. If price and wage adjustments are not made, and made soon enough, there is danger that consumer buying will falter, orders to manufacturers will decline, production will drop, and unemployment will occur.

I believe that an annual reduction in the debt of between one billion and two billion dollars is desirable. I point out that the actual existence of the debt is not at the time a danger. The danger was in the increase of the debt when we inflated purchasing power by tremendous figures, beyond anything that we were taking away from the people, and created a steadily rising price and wage level. Of course the debt should be reduced, but I think the reduction should be gradual, and not so fast as to have a deflationary influence, or result in a reduction of the proper standards of activity in the United States. Of course that is a question of degree. I should like to reduce the debt to a sufficient extent every year so that the credit of the Government would remain good, and its bonds would be strong, and so that gradually we could get down to a figure from which we could start with greater safety if we should have another war or another extraordinary emergency in the United States.

Furthermore, apart from the question of the effect of taking this money away from the purchasing power of the people, it seems to me that tax reduction in itself is an end. Everyone must admit, I believe, that the very purpose of cutting the budget and trying to accomplish the results which we are now trying to accomplish is to reduce the tax burden on the people of the United States. The only question involved is a question of timing. Should we do it this year, or wait until 12 months from now?

I think we should make such a tax reduction today. I think it is desirable and necessary if we are to encourage the people to start new businesses, to reorganize their old businesses, and to put money into new enterprises which will furnish new jobs and maintain the present high level of employment, which is high because of many rather extraordinary circumstances.

TAX BURDEN

I believe that it is worth while to call attention to the taxes now imposed by the Government, merely from the standpoint of the tremendous burden which they place on most of the people of the United States. In this discussion I shall deal only with those who are today receiving incomes of $5,000 a year or less. It is rather interesting to note that the group receiving $5,000 a year or less is by far the overwhelming majority of those who pay taxes.

Today returns are filed by 44,817,360 persons who receive $5,000 a year or less, as compared with 1,866,000 returns from those receiving more than $5,000 a year.

A single man or woman—a schoolteacher, for example, who receives $1,000 a year must pay $95 in taxes. I do not know how a person can live on $1,000 a year.

A married couple with an income of $1,500 must pay $95 in taxes.

A married couple with one child and an income of $2,000 must pay $95 in taxes.

A single woman with an income of $1,500 must pay $190 in taxes.

A married couple with an income of $2,000 must pay $190 in taxes, or practically 10 per cent of what they

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receive. I do not know of any married couples who find it easy to live on $2,000.

A married couple with one child and a total income of $2,500 must pay $190 in taxes.

A married couple with an income of $3,000 must pay $380 in taxes.

A married couple with an income of $4,000 must pay $589 in taxes.

A married couple with a gross income of $5,000 must pay $800 in taxes.

That is a perfectly terrific burden on the people of the United States. Forty-five million taxpayers fall in that class.

I believe very strongly that taxes themselves are a tremendous burden. In the upper brackets they are a deterrent. Many corporation executives, for example, feel that it is useless to work any harder. They would rather go to Florida and earn less, because the Government takes practically all the additional money they can earn.

UPPER BRACKETS

In the upper brackets, with a tremendous tax, people are deterred from putting money into risk enterprises. They would rather put it into Government bonds and receive 1 per cent than to take a chance on losing it in projects that would put people to work and develop industry. It is far better from their standpoint, under present tax rates, simply to take a safe return and not go into a game in which, if they lose, they lose their own money, or if they win, the Government takes it all away from them.

The total burden of Federal taxation is $39,100,000,000. If there be added ten or eleven billion dollars of State and local taxes it amounts to approximately $51,000,000,000 out of a national income of $160,000,000,000, which is approximately 30 per cent of the total, or approximately one-third. On the average, people are working 1 day in 3 for the Government. I do not see how free enterprise can survive under such conditions. The reduction of taxes is an end in itself, and I do not believe we ought to tie our hands so that we cannot give whatever tax reduction we may wish to give.

It has been said that in the conference the question will probably be resolved, and that in the adjustment of the figures with the House there will result a substantial tax reduction. It seems to me that as a question of policy the Senate should declare that it does not want to make a compulsory application on the debt now without having considered the question of how much tax reduction we ought to give. I think we ought to say that we will apply $1,000,000,000 on the debt, providing a definite cushion against the possibility of not balancing the budget. Later, when we come to the question of tax reduction, in the interest of the economic welfare, in the interest of prosperity, and in the actual interest of the welfare of the taxpayers of the United States, we can make such reduction as we think best.

Mr. Millikin. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Taft. I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. Millikin. I think it is quite certain that we are to arrive at a certain figure. I believe it would be a very fortunate thing, and reassuring to the country, if our debate did not involve figures having within themselves too wide a disparity. During the course of the Senator's very able remarks he said that he thought the figure should be somewhere between one and two bil-

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lion dollars. I wonder if, after further developments of the debate, he might be willing to change his own amendment to make the figure 2 instead of 1?

Mr. Taft. It is a question of degree. I think $3,000,000,000 is certainly too much. If the chairman of the Committee on Finance feels that $2,000,000,000 is sufficient protection, and we have sufficient opportunity to consider what tax reductions might possibly be made this year, I am perfectly willing to modify my amendment to $2,000,000,000 if that is what the chairman of the Committee on Finance thinks should be done.

The President pro tempore. The yeas and nays have been ordered. It will require unanimous consent for the Senator to change his amendment. Does he ask unanimous consent?

Mr. Taft. No; I have not yet done so, because I do not know what the Senator is asking me to do.

Mr. Millikin. I am somewhat conscious of the fact that I shall be one of the conferees on this subject, and I should like very earnestly to suggest that at an appropriate time, possibly under the development of debate, the Senator modify his amendment so as to make the figure $2,000,000,000.

The President pro tempore. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Taft] to the amendment of the Senator from California [Mr. Knowland].

Mr. Tydings. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Taft. I yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. Tydings. I am somewhat concerned as to the figure which shall be finally settled. Whether it be $5,000,000,000 or $4,500,000,000, does the Senator from Ohio suggest that $1,000,000,000 of the $5,000,000,000 should be applied to the debt and that three or four billion dollars should be applied to tax reduction?

Mr. Taft. Not necessarily. One billion dollars would be definitely applied to the debt. Of course, the debt is in this situation, that when we have decided on what tax reduction should be made, whatever is left is automatically applied to the debt. A specific resolution in that regard would not be required in determining how much tax reduction is desirable. It may be in excess of $1,000,000,000; it may be $2,000,000,000. But I think it is too much to say definitely now that $3,000,000,000 should be applied on the debt.

Mr. Tydings. If I may pursue the inquiry further, we are about to adopt a ceiling for cuts in expenditures which in my judgment will finally be either five billion or six billion dollars. If we are to have that ceiling as our objective, then we should have a similar objective as to the amount of payment on the debt. If we are to save $6,000,000,000, we can readily apply $3,000,000,000 on the debt. If it is conceded that we cannot save that much, then I think the amendment of the Senator from Ohio might come with more force. But so far no Senator has advocated a saving of less than $4,500,000,000.

Mr. Taft. There is a saving of $4,500,000,000. The budget, which we are cutting, has a surplus of a billion and a half dollars; that gives a total of about $6,000,000,000. So before we can consider tax cuts at all we must give priority to the application of $3,000,000,000 on the debt. My only point is that we ought not to tie our hands in relation to tax reduction. We should determine what is necessary for tax reduction and then whatever is left

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over should go on the debt.

Mr. Tydings. I understand the position of the Senator from Ohio, but it seems to me that if we set our sights for a payment of only $1,000,000,000 on the national debt we are saying in effect that there is not going to be a $4,500,000,000 or $6,000,000,000 cut in the budget, because if we knew for certain that there was to be a $6,000,000,000 saving in the budget, I do not believe the Senator from Ohio would object to paying $3,000,000,000 on the national debt. But the very fact that he offers an amendment providing for a payment of only $1,000,000,000 on the national debt leads me to believe that the possibility of reaching a figure of either $4,500,000,000 or $6,000,000,000 in savings is pretty nebulous.

Mr. Taft. No; that does not follow at all. The figure I have had in my mind is that we should cut the over-all burden which I have tried to describe by approximately 20 per cent, or $3,500,000,000. I should hate to tie our hands so that we cannot make at least a 20-per cent cut. If it is decided that it is not safe to reduce taxes to that extent, and that the figure should be $2,500,000,000 or $3,000,000,000, well and good; but I do not think we ought to tie our hands now and say that under no circumstances can we cut taxes by more than $3,000,000,000. I do not see why we should do that. Why should we now determine that question? Why not determine it when we come to the question of tax reduction?

Mr. Holland. I was impressed with the figures the Senator gave in his argument as to the amount by which the unfunded indebtedness will be increased. As I recall, he stated the figure as $2,700,000,000, due to the collections this year on such items as social-security taxes and the like. In the event the Senator's amendment is adopted and we are obligated to make a reduction of $1,000,000,000 on only the funded obligations, it seems to me that would leave the Members of the Congress in the position of committing ourselves to bringing about a situation under which the total obligations of the Nation, both funded and unfunded, would be increased, instead of diminished. I wonder whether the Senator has a comment to make on that point.

Mr. Taft. No, Mr. President; the Senator from Florida is not correct. The question of the money collected in taxes and put into trust funds does not affect the budget, nor does it affect the debt. I have not used it in any way as bearing on the question of balancing the budget or reducing or increasing the debt. I use it only to show that we are actually taking out of the hands of the people approximately $2,700,000,000, and are putting it away in a closet, and are decreasing their purchasing power by that much; even before we get to the question of reducing the debt we are actually drawing that much more than we are spending. If we then reduce the debt $3,000,000,000, we are taking away in all $5,700,000,000 of the purchasing power of the people, which they cannot spend.

SOCIAL SECURITY

What happens is that with that money, which comes in as taxes under the old-age-pension fund, we buy bonds, either in the open market or from the Treasury; and if they are purchased from the Treasury, then the Treasury has that much cash with which it retires bonds in the open market. So there is no effect on the total debt. When we conclude that process, the total out-

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standing debt is just what it was when we started, except the Government owes some of it to itself, instead of to the public. That process does not create that much more debt, simply because the unfunded note is put into the old-age-pension fund.

Mr. Saltonstall. Mr. President, during the past 2 weeks, I have listened intently to the debates on the legislative budget. I have hesitated to think that at this late date I could add anything to what has been said, but it seems to me there are several points which thus far have only been touched upon.

The junior Senator from California [Mr. Knowland] made an appealing argument concerning the importance of reducing the national debt. With that argument, I entirely agree, but I respectfully differ with him as to what should be done with debt reduction in connection with the resolution which is now before the Senate.

Section 138 of the Congressional Reorganization Act requires us to include in our legislative-budget resolution a recommendation for a reduction in the public debt if the estimated receipts exceed the estimated expenditures.

I have on my desk, Mr. President, an amendment which I may offer in due course. It would cover the budget resolution and at the same time would be a little less definitive, a little less compulsory, and a little less of a moral commitment than the amendment of the Senator from California.

Most of the debate on the resolution has concerned itself with the amount of expenditures to be made in the fiscal year 1948—whether the recommendations of the President should be cut $6,000,000,000, $4,500,000,000, or more or less. There have been broad differences of opinion as to how much the cut should be and what expenditures for the Army and Navy should be. That point has just been brought out by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings] in his questions addressed to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Taft]. When we discuss current appropriations, we are debating something that is completely within our power to control. We do not have to vote appropriations unless we decide that they are wise appropriations to make.

DEBT REDUCTION

On the other hand, the reduction of debt involves several factors, some of which are beyond our control. Reduction of debt cannot be accomplished unless the money is in the pocket of the debtor at the time when the debt is to be paid. We can make estimates now of the revenues we expect the Government to receive from the taxes we establish, but whether the taxes so levied will produce revenue that in the next fiscal year will exceed the expenditures, and, if so, by how much, is a matter that is not presently in our control. Whether the estimates will be met is a matter that time, and time alone, can tell. Let us remember that Uncle Sam must have the cash in his pockets at the time when he pays off and retires an outstanding debt. He cannot pay it off on guesses or estimates. We all agree that in this first year of the legislative budget our statements are to a great extent guesses or estimates. They cannot be based on accurate calculations. Those can come only after the proposals for expenditures are examined in detail. What the excess of revenues over expenditures in the next fiscal year will be cannot be definitely known, in my

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opinion, before at least a year elapses. Whether our Government will have in its pockets at that time sufficient excess revenues to warrant reducing the debt by $3,000,000,000 or a greater amount depends on the flow of revenue derived from the taxes finally provided for by the Eightieth Congress. I approve, as do we all, of making the maximum reduction of our debt consistent with national security and the Nation's needs. I am in hearty sympathy with the thought of the junior Senator from California. On the other hand, I feel the same way about the reduction of the debt as I did about the reduction of expenditures. It becomes at best a guess or an estimate; and that estimate, I consider, becomes to a large degree a moral commitment on our part. I want to see expenditures reduced to the greatest possible degree consistent with our national security and our national needs; but, concurring in the view so ably stated by the Senator from Michigan [*Mr. Vandenberg*] I would prefer at this time to a cut of a smaller amount, with the sincere hope that we can make it a greater amount when the matters are examined in detail, rather than to recommend a larger cut which at the moment is more than we are able to sustain when the recommendations are minutely examined. Likewise, I believe it is much wiser for us to agree to a debt reduction of something less than $3,000,000,000. My amendment proposes that the reduction be not less than $1,000,000,000 or more than $3,000,000,000. This gives a leeway of $2,000,000,000 against future contingencies. It leaves a greater flexibility of commitment by us; and at the same time, in my opinion, it fulfills the requirements of the Reorganization Act.

Throughout this debate we have heard somewhat of the problems of tax reduction. The senior Senator from Ohio has just emphasized them. Many Members are giving serious thought to some form of tax reduction at this session. But some of our most distinguished Members have stated that they prefer to reduce the debt before reducing taxes. Many people throughout our country hope and expect to receive the benefit of some tax reduction. Perhaps we have given them false hopes. Perhaps our statements as to the amount of possible cuts in expenditures may give them exaggerated ideas, but I, personally, feel that if we can give some tax reduction this year, it will enormously increase the confidence of our citizens, and provide an incentive to greater production. I, personally, feel that some tax reduction this year is justified even if it results in a smaller amount of debt reduction. I hope that greater production will bring greater tax revenues, and thus permit us to reduce our national debt in greater amounts in 1949. The question before us at this moment, therefore, on the very little information we have at hand—and with the hopes engendered in the minds of many people—is as to how much debt reduction to make, how much tax reduction to consider.

The senior Senator from Virginia [*Mr. Byrd*], in his able address on Wednesday, February 19, stated—and I quote the figures from page 1221 of the *Record*—that the present estimate of $38,800,000,000 in tax revenues for the fiscal year 1948 was based on an anticipated national income of $167,000,000,000. This, I believe, is the largest anticipated income in the peacetime history of our country. We cannot be certain that in the fiscal year of 1948 this

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estimate will be fulfilled. If, as the distinguished Senator says, this anticipated income falls from $167,000,000,000 to $160,000,000,000 our revenue will shrink by $4,300,000,000. "If our income," he states, "falls to $150,000,000,000, then the revenue will shrink by $6,000,000,000." In other words, it takes but a comparatively small shrinkage of the country's income to reduce our revenue to a point where no debt reduction can be made, and where our revenues may not even equal our reduced estimate of expenditures.

Mr. President, I hope that this statement is not unduly pessimistic about our future. I hope that our revenues will not fall off. I hope that we may reduce our taxes, and that greater production will bring an increase of revenue rather than reduced revenues; but these are all uncertainties. They make our estimates at this time even more hazardous. I, personally, am sorry that we had to reach such vital conclusions on so little information as it was possible for us to receive at this particular session. But in voting on the pending resolution we fulfill one of the responsibilities imposed by the Reorganization Act. I feel that, having acted, we are morally bound to do our utmost to fulfill the estimates set forth in this legislative budget. If we feel that they are moral commitments, we must be careful not to create the feeling in the minds of our people that the estimates of our expenditures are greater than the expenditures actually will be and that the national debt is to be reduced by a greater amount than it can be. The revenues of our Government, as I have already stated, are not entirely in our hands to control. We create the tax laws, but the revenues such laws produce depend upon our country's productive ability. Our debt can be paid only when Uncle Sam has the funds with which to pay it.

As I have said, Mr. President, I may or may not submit the amendment which is on the desk in relation to the subject of debt retirement, but the main point of my amendment is to give greater flexibility to the pending resolution, considering all known and unknown factors. I hope we may ultimately have some debt reduction in the next fiscal year. I hope that ultimately we may have some tax reduction in the next fiscal year. I hope our expenditures in the next fiscal year will be kept lower than we now estimate them; but in all these matters I would rather now make commitments we can safely promise to keep than commitments which will be beyond our power to keep.

For the reasons I have given, Mr. President, I hope we may proceed carefully in acting on the subject of debt reduction.

Mr. Ferguson subsequently said: Mr. President, I should like to place in the *Record,* following the remarks of the Senator from Massachusetts, certain figures I have previously referred to. I have asked for and obtained from the Bureau of the Budget figures of the national income during the war years to ascertain what the highest national income was during those years. Suggestion was made that the figure might be as high as $200,000,000,000. I have obtained from the Bureau of the Budget the figures of the national income for the years 1932 to 1947, inclusive, as follows:

In 1939, the national income was $70,800,000,000. In 1940 the national income was $77,500,000,000. In 1941 it was $96,800,000,000. In 1942 it was $122,000,000,000. In

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1943 it was $149,000,000,000. In 1944 it was $158,000,000,000. In 1945 it was $161,000,000,000. For 1946 the Bureau gave me two figures, $164,000,000,000 or $165,000,000,000. The anticipated amount of national income for 1947 is $166,000,000,000.

I understand that it was indicated earlier today that the national income for next year is anticipated to be $167,000,000,000. So then national income would be higher in 1948 than it has been during any war year.

Mr. Knowland. Mr. President, we have heard much discussion of the Federal public debt, and whether or not the Congress of the United States has a responsibility, a prime responsibility toward its retirement.

At the last session of the Senate I recited the fact that our debt had grown from $16,000,000,000, in 1930, to $42,000,000,000, in 1940, and to $259,000,000,000, as it is today, representing a per capita obligation upon every American individual higher than it has ever been before, and an average of about $7,009 for every family in the United States. If we accept the figure of the Senator from Ohio of $1,000,000,000 a year, it would mean that we would be paying on the Federal debt for the next 259 years.

Considering the enormous debt we now have, I believe that we have a moral obligation to make a commitment that would certainly enable us to retire it within one century. The present debt of $259,000,000,000 is 10 times more than it was at the height of World War I. I pointed out at the last session of the Senate, and I now reiterate, that during the decade from 1920 to 1930 we made substantial payments on the Federal public debt in each of the 10 years; and in three of those years, with a debt just one-tenth as much as it is today, we retired more than a billion dollars, in each of 3 years.

If we were to operate now on the debt that we have on the same basis, we would be retiring $10,000,000,000 a year. Obviously we cannot do that.

I recognize that Congress in its judgment may determine that certain tax adjustments should be made. The amendment which I have offered will not prevent such adjustments.

Another thing I wish to call to the attention of the Senate is that this amendment of course must go to conference, as will the concurrent resolution as amended by the so-called Millikin amendment, and I am not so sanguine as to believe that the Senate conferees will necessarily be able to maintain the Senate's position completely, though I hope the conferees will make a very earnest effort to obtain a satisfactory adjustment of the differences.

* * *

I will say to the Senator from Colorado that in the interest of the parliamentary situation which he mentions, I should be willing to accept the figure $2,600,000,000, which would be a 1 per cent reduction on the Federal debt, and which would at least provide a goal of being able to retire it in not less than 100 years and permit us to hope that either this year or in future years it may be possible to exceed the figure of not less than $2,600,000,000.

Mr. Millikin. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Knowland. I yield.

Mr. Millikin. I had of course hoped that the Senator would go a little deeper than that, but he has made a very gracious and generous gesture in the direction of the result toward which I have been trying to lead.

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Mr. Taft. Mr. President, in the first place, the Senator from California suggests 1 per cent of the national debt. As a permanent sinking fund, that might be all right. My question is whether it would be wise to do it this year. Furthermore, the ordinary sinking fund of 1 per cent will retire the bonds in 50, not 100 years, because the interest is reduced and applied on the sinking fund.

However, while I should rather there would be no binding provision, I am willing to agree to the figure $2,600,000,000, which leaves, I calculate, $3,500,000,000 of unallocated funds that might be applied to tax reduction, if the Senate so desires. So that I am willing, I think, Mr. President, in the interest of accomplishing the purpose suggested, if the Chairman of the Finance Committee desires me to do so, to withdraw my amendment, if the Senator from California will modify his amendment first.

Mr. Knowland. Mr. President, I ask that my amendment be modified to read "$2,600,000,000." As the author of the amendment, I believe I have the right to have the amendment modified.

The President pro tempore. The Senator has the right to modify his amendment, inasmuch as the yeas and nays have not been ordered. The Chair understands that the amendment submitted by the Senator from California is amended to read——

Mr. Knowland. "Not less than $2,600,000,000."

Mr. Taft. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw the amendment which I offered.

The President pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. Saltonstall. Mr. President, most respectfully, I object.

Mr. Knowland. Mr. President, I believe it is essential to establish a definite basis for the debt reduction, because the country cannot afford either to get into another major depression or to become involved in another war, with a debt standing at $259,000,000,000, or anywhere near it. As a member of the Republican Party, and as a Member of the Senate, I recognize no obligation to support any fixed formula for tax reduction of 20 per cent across the board, as has been suggested by some Members of the other House, or of a flat 20-per cent figure. I hope that the Congress, in its wisdom, may find it possible to make some tax adjustments.

The able Senator from Ohio has presented some figures to show the tremendous tax burden upon the American people. We all recognize that the burden is heavy and we all want to see it lightened; but I point out to the Senator from Ohio and to the other Members of the Senate that it may be possible to lighten the load upon those in the average-income brackets by increasing the exemptions under the revenue laws, by giving more credit to those who have children, and who are trying to educate their children in schools and colleges. We can furnish a great deal of relief to the taxpayers of the country with that type of adjustment. I certainly have not closed my mind to any particular type of tax adjustment if the Congress of the United States in its wisdom feels that such an adjustment would be wise, but I say to the Senate that such a reduction should not, in my opinion, have priority over the task we must perform of reducing the huge Federal public debt, which, in my opinion, threatens the very solvency of the Government of the United States.

We have discussed the matter of

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the national income. The Senator from New Jersey [*Mr. Hawkes*] has pointed out, as has also the Senator from Massachusetts [*Mr. Saltonstall*], that the national income is now almost at its high point in American history, and I ask, if we are not to begin reducing the vast Federal public debt now when the national income is high, then when, in heaven's name, will we start reducing it?

I pointed out last Friday that during the 150 years we have been in existence as a nation under the Constitution in approximately 90 years the Government has had an excess of receipts over expenditures, while in about 62 years its operations have resulted in a deficiency. Obviously we cannot reduce the Federal public debt when we are operating under a deficiency, because at such a time the Federal public debt is being increased

Finally, Mr. President, I point out to the Senate that the present huge Federal public debt is definitely an inflationary factor. The Senator from Ohio complains that my proposal may have an inflationary tendency. I point out to the Senate that today wholesale prices are at their peak, and certain other inflationary signs confront our Nation. We have seen what has happened to the currency of China and of Greece and of most of the countries of Europe, and it is certainly advisable that we start to consider and ponder the whole situation which threatens the American people.

Mr. Taft. Mr. President, I again ask unanimous consent to withdraw the amendment, in spite of the fact that the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The President pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. Lucas. I object.

The President pro tempore. Objection is heard.

Mr. Revercomb. Mr. President, again I wish to express my admiration and commendation of the general view for substantial payment on the national debt and continuous reduction of it. However, it seems to me that there is nothing really worth while to be gained in saying that at least a certain amount must be paid annually, or this year, upon the debt. It is my hope that even an amount in excess of $3,000,000,000 may be paid. It appears to me that the first consideration the Congress faces today with respect to dealing with the income of the Government and its use is the reduction of taxes for the current year and the years to come. We have been given a figure representing the estimated income for this year. It is but an estimate, and if we start at any figure, whether it be $3,000,000,000 or $1,000,000,000, we are at once placing a limitation upon possible tax cuts.

It is unnecessary to fix a minimum amount that must be paid upon the debt when certainly it will be the purpose of any administration that may be in office, as certainly it will be the purpose of the Congress, to see that the great national debt is paid. But of the important question which confronts the Congress with respect to its fiscal affairs of the year, the first, it seems to me, is the fixing of a tax cut to apply to the American people, not only for their immediate relief but in order that they may be ready to face any situation which may confront them in the future.

I was very glad indeed to hear the able Senator from California say that he wanted a tax reduction, and that, in particular, he wanted a tax reduction by way of increasing per-

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crease in the public debt of other issues, such as savings bonds, special issues to trust funds, and so forth. One year ago today the direct public debt outstanding amounted to $279,214,000,000. I have not, of course, the figure for today, but one week ago, February 21, 1947, the public debt was $259,236,000,000, a reduction of approximately $20,000,000,000.

. . . Mr. President, both of our proposals recommended action by the Secretary of the Treasury which, under existing law, is only permissive. If the amendment proposed by my good friend and colleague from California had been in effect, only $3,000,000,000 of that $20,000,000,000 would have been paid off. If my substitute, however, had been in effect the entire $20,000,000,000 would have been paid off.

It seems to me unwise to mention a limit of three billion dollars in connection with this power of the Secretary of the Treasury which has been his for the last 65 years. It is especially undesirable at this time when the public debt is so enormous. Its reduction is most desirable to make firmer the credit of our government, and to stabilize the value of the Government bonds in the hands of our fellow citizens and to encourage reduction in the expenses of government.

It is urged that favorable action on my proposal would amount to a recommendation that the taxes be not reduced. My proposal has nothing to do with receipts. It leaves those matters to be settled separately. The present law has nothing to do with taxes or with receipts. Attention is directed simply to any surplus of receipts over expenditures. It remains with Congress as before to determine both receipts and expenditures.

I certainly believe it is desirable not to take away, even morally, the power of the Secretary of the Treasury to apply the surplus of receipts over expenditures to the reduction of the Federal debt, but to recommend to him that he exercise it fully.

Mr. President, I shall vote for the substitute amendment. I offer it, and I hope it will be adopted, without regard to any misconstructions which may be placed upon it or any misunderstandings of its effect.

It has nothing to do with tax reduction. The Congress would be just as free to make tax reductions wherever it chose to do so, and would be just as free to make appropriations. The amendment simply is a recommendation to the Secretary of the Treasury that if there is any excess of receipts over expenditures, he shall apply such excesses to reduce the Federal debt. That is all the amendment provides.

The President pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment, in the nature of a substitute, offered by the Senator from Rhode Island [*Mr. Green*] to the modified amendment of the Senator from California [*Mr. Knowland*]. On this question the yeas and nays have been demanded and ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

So *Mr. Green's* amendment in the nature of a substitute for *Mr. Knowland's* amendment, as modified, was rejected.

The President pro tempore. The question recurs on the perfected amendment submitted by the Senator from California [*Mr. Knowland*]. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 82, nays none.

So *Mr. Knowland's* amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

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The question is now upon the amendment submitted by the Senator from California as modified.

Mr. Knowland. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The President pro tempore. Is the demand for the yeas and nays seconded?

Mr. Green. Mr. President, I desire to offer a substitute for the amendment offered by my good friend and colleague the Senator from California [*Mr. Knowland*]. I should like to have the clerk state the amendment.

The Chief Clerk. At the end of the concurrent resolution it is proposed to insert the following new sentence:

It is further declared to be the judgment of the Congress that any excess of revenues over expenditures be applied toward reduction of the public debt.

The President pro tempore. Is the Senator from Rhode Island offering his proposal as a substitute for the modified amendment offered by the Senator from California?

Mr. Green. I am.

Mr. President, in the first place, let it be clearly understood that my substitute for the amendment to Senate Concurrent Resolution 7 proposed by the Senator from California in no way indicates any opposition to his attempt to aid in the reduction of the Federal debt. In fact, he and I are in substantial agreement as to the primary necessity of reducing the debt if there is any excess of receipts over expenditures. As a matter of fact, at the meeting of the Joint Committee on the Legislative Budget, of which we are both members, the Senator offered a resolution similar to that which I now offer. They both came very near being adopted. I am glad to say that mine, on a voice vote, came within one vote of being adopted, and within eight votes when there was a division on the ayes and noes. The only difference is that the Senator from California believes that as a matter of policy the amount recommended should be limited to not less than $3,000,000,000, while I believe there should be no limitation. In other words, his amendment is a restriction on the authority which the Secretary of the Treasury now has, while my substitute continues the existing authority and recommends its exercise.

The existing law, which seems to have been ignored in most of the debate, reads as follows:

Purchase or redemption of bonds. The Secretary of the Treasury may at any time apply the surplus money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, or so much thereof as he may consider proper, to the purchase or redemption of the United States bonds, *Provided*, that the bonds so purchased or redeemed shall constitute no part of the sinking fund, but shall be cancelled.

What I have read may be found in section 741 of Title 31 of the United States Code. This section, known as the bond-purchase clause was a part of the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1882. In other words, it has been on the Federal statute books for 65 years. This unlimited power of the Secretary of the Treasury in his discretion to apply to the reduction of the national debt surplus money not otherwise appropriated has not only been on the statute books for 65 years, but from time to time it has been exercised and the debt thereby reduced. This has been notably the case during the past year. In every month of the past year the Secretary of the Treasury has exercised this power and paid off marketable securities. From March 1, 1946, through February 1, 1947, the reductions amounted to over $24,446,000,000. However, the last figure is offset somewhat by in-

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onal exemptions so that those of sser incomes and those with large amilies to support might receive the rst benefit of the reduction. I eartily subscribe to that view. But hen we come to the question of xing taxes for the year it seems o me that if we try to fix a mini- ium amount to apply upon our in- iebtedness we are at that time put- ing a wall around the efforts of hose who want to reduce the tax urden on the people of the country.

I think that first things should ome first, and that no minimum lim- tation whatsoever should be placed pon the amounts to be paid and if uch a limitation is to be placed it hould be the lowest figure we can gree upon; and then in fact pay he greatest amount we can regard- ess of any limitation adopted. No ne is more desirous than I that re- luctions in debt be made quickly. But I feel that such reduction is a econdary question. For my part I would rather the Congress not pro- vide a minimum sum to be paid. I shall therefore support a smaller amount as the lesser of two evils.

In view of the very first question before us, that of a proper adjust- ment of the taxes of the country, and in view of the fact that we can only surmise and estimate what the in- come will be, I feel that no amount ought to be fixed as the least amount that we should pay on the public debt. If an amount is to be fixed, I hope it will be the least amount, and that the result will be a payment on the debt far in excess of any spec- ulative sum that we may fix.

The President pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Ohio [*Mr. Taft*] to the modi- fied amendment of the Senator from California [*Mr. Knowland*].

Mr. Taft. Mr. President——

The President pro tempore. The Senator has spoken on the amend- ment.

Mr. Taft. I will take time on the concurrent resolution.

The President pro tempore. The Senator from Ohio is recognized on the concurrent resolution.

Mr. Taft. Mr. President, I have agreed with the Senator from Cal- ifornia that I will accept his amend- ment with the figure $2,600,000,000. Therefore I ask unanimous consent to withdraw my amendment. If con- sent is not given, I shall ask the Senate to vote against it, and I, my- self, shall vote against it.

As I take it, the reduction we now have available under the terms of the concurrent resolution is $6,100,- 000,000. If the figure stated in the amendment of the Senator from Cal- ifornia is reduced to $2,600,000,000, it will leave $3,500,000,000, which I at least, intend to advocate shall be applied to the reduction of taxes, representing an over-all 20-per cent reduction in the personal income tax. I believe that the reduction in that tax should be substantial. Al- though I should prefer not to go as high as the figure in the Knowland amendment, I feel that it represents an allocation of the surplus in the manner in which I believe it should be finally allocated. Therefore I ask unanimous consent to withdraw my amendment.

The President pro tempore. The Senator from Ohio asks unanimous consent to withdraw his amendment to the amendment of the Senator from California [*Mr. Knowland*]. Is there objection?

The amendment of the Senator from Ohio [*Mr. Taft*] to the amend- ment of the Senator from California [*Mr. Knowland*] is withdrawn. The order for the yeas and nays also is rescinded by unanimous consent.

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FORUM: Have Public E

YES!

By Alice B. McGinty

STRIKE fire strafed the nation in 1946. The Big Ten—steel, coal, General Motors, telephone, telegraph, maritime, railways, trucking, New York tugboat—set a record for even our turbulent industrial relations.

In contrast to these, the strikes of public employees—teachers, garbage collectors, transit workers, street cleaners—appear negligible. Yet it is upon these—our most conservative, long suffering, underprivileged labor group—that public wrath is now fixed. To be sure, a raise for school teachers hits the public purse more directly than a raise for automobile workers. Yet, this does not explain that peculiar logic which accords workers in our basic industries—steel, coal, transportation, power, communications—the right to strike and denies the same right to school teachers and street sweepers. Available evidence does not support the conclusion that more harm has been done the community by striking firemen than by striking steel workers.

PUBLIC HYSTERIA

The truth is we have been victimized by panic—an hysterical fear that the foundations of the republic will be vaporized if the garbage man refuses to collect for a week. Our "organists" of public opinion seem hell bent for chaos. The very word "strike" has become synonymous with "violence," "anarchy," "revolution." The Coolidge dictum: "there is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, at anytime," is quoted by editorial writers (in capitals), radio commentators, and legislators as fundamental, if not natural, law. Coolidge, who undoubtedly was helped into the White House by his handling of the Boston police strike, is still praised for safeguarding our "American way of life."

CONDON-WADLIN BILL

Thomas Dewey, a Republican Governor of New York with presidential aspirations, has just pushed the Condon-Wadlin Bill through the New York State Legislature. The bill provides that any public employee who goes out on strike shall be fired and shall, thereby, lose all tenure, seniority, pension or other rights he might possess. If he is reinstated, he can receive no more money than when he went on strike; no raise will be given him for three years; he will be on probation for five years, serving this term without tenure! The New York State legislators are convinced that "this bill is the only kind of bill that would deter the people who would undermine our institutions."

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ployees the Right to Strike?

NO!

By Sylvan Kling

ON Monday morning, the police department went out on strike, after weeks of fruitless bargaining over a wage increase. At first, the Mayor announced he would try to talk the matter over with union officials, but no agreement was reached. Within two days, a crime wave of huge proportions swept the city. Citizens were warned to stay at home after dark, and many storekeepers were forced to board up their windows to minimize the possibility of robbery. Traffic accidents hit a new high and public safety was further jeopardized when cars were parked in front of fire plugs and driveways.

PUBLIC EMPLOYEES STRIKE

The Fire department went on strike on Wednesday. The firemen wanted a ten per cent increase in their weekly wages. Fortunately there were no major fires during this period, although several small blazes were left to burn themselves out. Two families were left homeless. The Mayor called upon the police and fire departments to return to work but a union official told newsmen that they would not even consider it until they were assured of a decent wage scale.

Two days later, post office employees went on strike because of the post office department's reluctance to grant them an additional day off. All mail delivery ceased. Telegraph operators remained at their jobs, although they threatened to follow suit unless they were granted an increase of three cents an hour. Officials said they would study the case.

As the strikes went into the second week, holdups and street assaults continued to harass the public. Another family was left homeless by an uncontrolled blaze and two small children were burned to death. By Tuesday of the second week, transit workers joined the strike. Union officials declared that the Transit Workers Federation had been objecting to the hiring of too many new men, but that company officials had been indifferent to their objections. Trolleys, buses, and subways ceased operation at noon, leaving thousands of central-city office workers stranded with no means of getting home. Taxi service was continued, but it was increasingly difficult to hail a cab. Employers called upon everyone with automobiles to try to take as many workers home as possible.

On Wednesday, telephone and telegraph workers finally voted to go out on strike, and at the same time, employees of the electrical bureau and the gas company considered a sitdown strike in protest of what they termed

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(Continued from page 432)

Who are these people "who would undermine our institutions?" Communists, anarchists, criminal syndicalists? Calvin Coolidge called the striking Boston policemen "deserters." C.C.C. strikers were called "mutineers." Editorial writers, enlarging upon a strike of school teachers, first bemoan the example they are setting the young; then castigate them roundly for defying authority, law and order. From there, it is just one jump to treason. They see potential Mussolinis marching on Washington!

This clamor leads us to a strangely "un-American" conclusion—that the good society, i.e., the "American way," is the *status quo ad infinitum*, a state of permanent order in which there are no strikes, by public employees, and in which the maintenance of that order is more important than the correction of abuse.

That public employees represent the government, in fact, are the government, and, as such, guardians of public welfare; that a strike by them, therefore, constitutes an attack upon the foundations of society, is far fetched in the extreme. Public employees bear the same economic relationship to their employer, the community, as private employees bear to private employers. They have the same problems and have struck for the same goals —better wages, hours and working conditions. Their responsibility for the public welfare cannot be determined *en bloc*. A public construction worker obviously has less than a locomotive engineer, miner or doctor; a school teacher obviously more than a grocery clerk or an insurance salesman. The strikes of government employees have been against officials and policies, not against any fundamental principles of law and order.

Objections to the right of public employees to strike can thus be divided into two categories—the hysterical and the theoretical. Both can be demolished by a dispassionate look at the record.

THE RECORD

By 1940, there had been 1,116 recorded strikes of public employees—66 in public protection; 3 in public legislation and administration; 23 in public education; 94 in public health and sanitation; 72 in public road construction; 18 in public parks and recreation; 62 in public property maintenance; 114 in publicly owned utilities; 664 in the depression employment program. One hundred could easily be added to this total to cover the period 1940-47. Strikes against the government, like strikes in private employ, occur most frequently in time of economic stress. There have been more than 10 a year in each of the following periods: 1906-07; 1916-21; 1932-37. The increase in the number of strikes over each preceding period corresponds to the increasing extent of governmental activity.

Seventy per cent of these strikes ended in a week; 20 per cent in a day; 10 per cent in less than a day. Compare this to the fact that only 35 per cent of strikes in private industry are settled in a week.

There have been only four cases of recorded violence nearly all of which were caused by strike breakers—a water department strike in Detroit,

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1894; a highway strike in Passaic, New Jersey, 1906; a street cleaning department strike in New York City, 1911; the San Jacinto Tunnel strike, 1937.

These 1,116 strikes of public employees have been sporadic and spontaneous. No sinister network tying up any one service can be found. They have not jeopardized the orderly continuation of the functions of government.

Thus, to the hysterical, we point out that the republic has survived well over a thousand strikes against its local, state, county and federal governments. As the area of governmental activity expands, the number may be expected to increase. This is a fact, however, which we can face calmly. For we contend that in striking, public employees are public benefactors rather than public enemies. Their strikes have ameliorated unwholesome and unjust working conditions.

Strikes of public employees cannot be legislated out of existence. No-strike pledges, contract guarantees, social intimidation may avail for a while. But when the gap between official salaries and the cost of living widens, when the apathy of the public toward its servants becomes entrenched, when opposition to the organization of public employees is irreconcilable, strikes in public employment will inevitably occur. Witness the outbreak of teacher strikes.

A strike, after all, is a legitimate protest against intolerable working conditions wherever they occur. In public employment, a strike is an even more serious danger signal than in private employment. Public employees are not protected by the Wagner Act and are excluded from the coverage of most state laws governing wages and working conditions. Consequently, they strike only as a last resort. A strike of government employees is an expression of despair that indicts the community rather than the workers. Indeed, public employees on strike have become scapegoats for our guilty consciences. This is best illustrated by the "in-famous" Boston police strike of September 9, 1919. Strangely enough, this strike is unanimously cited as *the* horrible example of what can happen when public employees strike against the government.

BOSTON POLICE STRIKE

Ten years before the strike, an administrative report of an investigation of living conditions in the station houses demanded radical changes immediately. Nothing was done. Four years later, Station 2 was condemned. Plans for the new station were shelved. At the time of the strike, there were four toilets and one bath tub for 135 men. The vermin were so thick that "the leather is eaten off the helmets of the men." The day shift worked 73-78 hours a week; the night shift, 83-91; the wagon men, 98. One 24-hour leave could be obtained every eight days but the men could not go outside the city limits without permission. Salaries started at $900 a year, $207 of which went for uniforms and equipment. The cost of living rose 89 per cent between 1913-19. The policemen received a raise of 14-22 per cent.

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For 14 years, the Boston Social Club, the only organization of policemen allowed, had tried in vain to improve these conditions.

In June, 1919, the A.F.L. reversed its policy of not granting charters to policemen. Less than a month later, 35 applications for charters were received—more than were ever received by any one class of workers in the Federation. The Boston local applied for an A.F.L. charter on July 11. Edwin U. Curtis, the Commissioner of Police, disapproved of the application on July 29. The charter was received on August 9. Two days later the Commissioner forbade policemen joining any "organization, club, or body composed of present or present and past members of the force which is affiliated with or a part of any organization, club, or body outside the department except a post of the G.A.R., the United Spanish War Veterans, the American Legion." On August 26, he filed suit against 19 union officers for disobeying his order. The Commissioner tried these men himself, promising to announce his decision on September 4.

Although the City of Boston paid the policemen, the Police Commissioner was appointed by the governor. Curtis and Coolidge were Republicans. Andrew J. Peters, the Mayor of Boston, appointed a Citizens Committee to study the problem and make recommendations. Peters and John Storrow, the Chairman of the Citizens' Committee, were Democrats.

The Commissioner's decision was postponed until September 8 at the Mayor's request. On September 6, the police attorneys, Vahey and Feeney, had a draft compromise ready. The policemen would give up the A.F.L. charter and a committee would be appointed to investigate grievances. The Commissioner's report suspending the 19 policemen for disobeying the August 11 order forbidding union affiliation appeared on September 7. The policemen were stunned. Of the 1100 present at a meeting on September 8, all but two voted to strike the next day. Mayor Peters called out the state guard but was told to mind his own business by Commissioner Curtis.

The men struck on September 9. Declaring a state of "tumult and riot," the Mayor took command of the state guard on September 10. This was promptly taken away from him by Governor Coolidge on September 11. Curtis was put in charge. In the two-day interim, a few boys played craps on the sidewalk, and several shop windows were raided. Even these minor infractions of public order could have been avoided, if the state guard had been called out immediately

Coolidge declared that the men on strike had deserted their posts and had lost all rights, including reinstatement. The strike was lost—most probably because of an unfavorable press. The story of the compromise was not printed until some time later. The union was smashed; 1100 men lost their jobs. Starting salaries for policemen were then raised $400 and the first uniforms were given free.

Calvin Coolidge has since enjoyed a reputation for saving Boston, law and order, civilization, which is indeed suspect.

The American public has been peculiarly unwilling to admit that workers have a right to determine the conditions under which they will

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abor. This reluctance is what is at the basis of public opposition to strikes by its employees. The "put up or shut up" philosophy has a surprising hold on our communities.

Public employees are people. They have to pay 85 cents a pound for utter just like the rest of us—only on a smaller salary. If we believe in he equality of all men, how can we deny them the right other workers njoy? As a vice president of the International Association of Fire Fighters has said: "I do not favor the strike weapon to settle our differences . . . But, Sir, I do say that when I am told that I . . . have to stay working as a ireman whether I like it or not, I shall fight to the last drop of blood in ny body to maintain the same rights as other humans enjoy."

The Constitution guarantees to each citizen the right "peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." Yet he idea of collective bargaining for public employees is repugnant to many unicipal officials on "principle" although it has been accepted procedure n the T.V.A., the United States Printing Office, the Army Ordnance Department, Panama Canal Zone, and in Navy yards. The Alaskan Railroad nd Federal Barge Lines concluded collective bargaining agreements as if ney were privately operated utilities. In the absence of adequate machinery or adjusting labor disputes, the worker has no alternative but to bring his ase to the public ear by striking.

Public officials and the community at large have duties to public employees. Both have been guilty of gross negligence. Why do we allow ublic officials a latitude in dealing with public workers that we deny private idustrialists? No great revolution in our attitude toward public employees eems probable. We undoubtedly will not become more vigilant about our ivic duties, in view of our past. Public employees, therefore, have not only ie right but the duty to call our attention to injustice.

The opposition points to the tenure, pensions and opportunities for regu- r advancement which civil service employees enjoy. These benefits were ot granted in return for a promise not to strike. It is still possible for orkers to be subject to unfair discrimination for which no grievance machinery is available.

Rigidity of wage schedules is the primary cause of strikes against the overnment. Requests for wage adjustments are met with the plea of inadequate funds. Yet a deficiency budget could certainly provide for an nergency increase of wages. Good government service is worth the price!

Our institutions have been improved rather than impaired as a result f government strikes. Suppose for a moment, they had been impaired— would be a sign for a salutary change rather than suppression. For the ublic welfare is endangered not by strikes of public employees but by an pathetic community too lazy and too niggardly to bother with its civic esponsibilities.

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unpleasant working conditions." The Mayor called on the citizens to be

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calm in the emergency, and pleaded with all striking departments to return to work. Spokesmen for the utility workers urged the City Council to meet their demands.

On Thursday, garbagemen and trash collectors refused to work because of "unsanitary conditions of work and sub-standard wages," as one spokesman put it. A threatened strike of Water Bureau employees threw the City into a virtual uproar, and the Mayor resigned at the insistence of the City Council. . . .

This, of course, is a hypothetical case. But it could happen—in fact, has happened in the past, in part, at least. There was a police strike in Boston in 1919, a transportation strike in Philadelphia in 1945, and several threatened transit strikes in New York in recent months. The telephone operators have been threatening to strike, and the nation's education problem was increased because of a wave of teachers' strikes In other words, the hypothetical situation described above, while hardly probable, *is possible*.

PUBLIC WELFARE

The answer to the question "Should Public Employees Strike?" is obvious. Public employees should NOT strike. This does not mean that we should refuse their demands for a better wage scale and better conditions of employment. It is the method of achieving these ends that we must not condone. While we respect the rights and privileges of such workers, we cannot afford to let them jeopardize and destroy public welfare by striking Would we advocate letting doctors and nurses go on strike for any length of time?

In New York, the State Legislature passed the Condon-Wadlin Bill last March. This bill forbids strikes by public employees, and calls for immediate firing of an employee who does strike. Newspaper editorials were quick in praising the virtues of the bill. An editorial in *The New York Times* called it a "Legislative Milestone"; the *Washington Times-Herald* thought the bill was "Regrettable but Necessary," and the *Philadelphia Inquirer* felt that "The New York Anti-Strike Measure merits Harrisburg Study."

The Condon-Wadlin Bill was recommended by Governor Thomas E Dewey, although opposed by New York City's Mayor O'Dwyer. Oddly enough, O'Dwyer not long ago yielded to the Transport Workers Union in order to prevent a strike of subway employees. At the time, January 1946 O'Dwyer surrendered to Mike Quill, head of the Union, on the issue of disposing of the power plants on which the city was facing a million dollar rehabilitation expense. Less than a month later, Quill wanted a $2-a-day wage rise for subway men and sole collective bargaining rights. The Transport Workers Union subsequently dropped the sole bargaining rights clause, O'Dwyer appointed a special committee to study pay and working conditions, and everything was ironed out—to the satisfaction of the transport workers. In November, the same union threatened to strike again ove

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etroactive back pay and the ›argaining issue. The back ›ay issue was settled, while he bargaining issue is still ınsettled. With the passage ›f the Condon-Wadlin Bill, he threat of further strikes ›ill have been eliminated.

I believe that it is agreed ›y most people that the pub-ic safety is more important han the interests of any one roup of key workers, large ›r small. When a man or voman is employed in a pub-ic service, an obligation is ssumed which transcends hat of a worker in private ndustry. That obligation hould come first; it should ›e impressed upon the work-rs very vividly, as a creed ›r code of ethics. Employees ınder civil service have job ›rotection, and usually they ıave retirement benefit plans. A worker is not required to emain in public service, but as long as he does so, he must abide by that ›rinciple.

OF COURSE, I'M NOT A TOTAL WRECK YET, BUT—
A BADLY BATTERED PUBLIC
LABOR'S FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT TO STRIKE FOR ANYTHING ANYWHERE, ANY TIME

Hutton in *The Inquirer*

"BEGINNING TO DOUBT"

Naturally, public servants are entitled to increases in salary and other ›enefits which workers in private industry get. In many cases, a public ervant gets less than the worker in private industry. But this does not ustify his resorting to the same weapons and tactics as the worker in private ndustry. In 1919, Calvin Coolidge, then Governor of Massachusetts, quelched a strike of the Boston police department. Said Coolidge, "There s no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, at any ime." This sentiment won national acclaim for him, and in a short time, ıe became Vice President of the United States under Warren G. Harding, ınd, upon Harding's death, President. This is not to indicate that Coolidge ›ode to the Presidency on that phrase, but it shows how a responsible office-ıolder felt and acted. It shows, further, that mass opinion was on his side.

A *New York Times* editorial on March 15, 1947, referring to the pas-age of the Condon-Wadlin Bill, sums up the situation admirably. "This ıewspaper has consistently opposed every effort to deny the right of labor,

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other than public employees, to strike. It will continue to defend that right. The employees of government are in a different position. They act for the people. They are, in a sense, government itself, and without their steadfast loyalty all public authority is in jeopardy. This new measure . . . puts the state, this city and all other municipal government under a solemn obligation. We must see to it that our conduct as the employer of these civil servants is always just and generous, that we never fail to take note of changes in the cost of living that make a change in compensation appropriate, that we never plead poverty as an excuse for pauperizing these, our faithful representatives. This is the bill we pay for exacting this extraordinary but essential obligation from public employees that they will, on no account, abandon their sworn duty."

Before going on to point out reasons for strikes by public employees and methods of their prevention, it might be interesting to point out a refutation of the "right to strike" which the above editorial mentions.

RIGHT TO STRIKE LIMITED

Richard E. Danielson, in an article in *The Atlantic Monthly* not long ago, stated that John L. Lewis is utterly wrong in assuming that all men have the right to strike at any time and under any conditions. "Such a right," says Danielson, "simply does not exist. It has never been granted by society. It has been advanced by the lunatic fringe of labor and has been definitely rejected by public opinion." Danielson goes on to point out the Boston police strike as an example of "a clear veto by the public of such extravagance." He believes that policemen, firemen, postal employees, and other public servants cannot be allowed to strike, just as soldiers and sailors cannot strike or mutiny. "The right to strike," says Danielson, "is therefore subject to the principle of limitation and amendment."

He points out that strikes by public employees have created or confirmed the belief that strikes against the public which affect the necessities of living are intolerable, and feels that "to permit a group of disputants to cut the public's throat is to approve anarchy as a normal process."

A justification for the Condon-Wadlin Bill or any other bill with similar provisions can be easily found in our basic concept of democratic government. The essence of this concept is that government is based upon the consent of the governed and that the governed shall have an opportunity to pass judgment upon those who are exercising the powers of government. A primary characteristic of modern democratic government is the establishment of procedures for keeping those in power accountable to the governed.

The main problem, obviously, is what causes strikes and how can we remedy the situation. The cause of strikes in industry is well known—the employees want shorter hours, more pay, more vacation and time off, collective bargaining, and so forth. Employers do not favor such demands, and if the employees find no other means of winning their demands, they go out on strike. A strike is a potent weapon.

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Actually, the same situation exists in public service. The same demands are expressed, and often the municipal authorities do not wish to grant such demands. H. Eliot Kapla, Executive Secretary of the National Civil Service League, feels that poor labor relations in government spring largely from failure of public administrators to recognize the importance of established modern procedures and practices in dealing with employees. Kapla believes that adequate machinery must be provided for public officials meeting with employees collectively to assure ironing out of disputes before they reach the danger point. The initiative, he believes, should come from top management in government unless public officials are to be subjected to pressure. Sound personnel practices to avoid misunderstandings and create an *espirit de corps* must be found. It is the duty of the state to avoid unfavorable conditions of public employment and provide the machinery for the prevention or removal of employment grievances at their source.

However, even if the state fails in its duty, says Kapla, quoting a report on Employee Organizations in the Public Service, published by the National Civil Service League, it still remains the obligation of its employees to limit the presentation of their cases to peaceable methods. "A strike in government is not a strike against a 'boss', as viewed in private industry, but a strike against the public, which in reality is the 'boss' of both the department head and his subordinate employees."

GRIEVANCE PROCEDURES

The public administrator should not be permitted to shield himself behind the pretext of "sovereignty of the state," or substitute the majesty of the law for sound administrative judgment and discretion, Kapla feels. "Public employees do have grievances, many of them similar to those arising in private industry. Employees must constantly keep in mind, however, the fact that the public administrators cannot always act with the freedom possible in private employment . . . they must restrict themselves to the means granted by law. Redress must often wait upon legislative changes, slow and irksome as the process might be . . . Employee organizations must subordinate their desire for improving conditions for their members to the interests of the people as a whole. The public, through its representatives, must do its part in providing the conditions which preserve the public interest."

Arnold S. Zander, International President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, has another solution. "We have avoided a large number of strikes by appealing with great patience to the understanding of public employees. We have convinced many officials that it is good administrative practice for them to sit down with representatives of their employees and converse with them in good faith about employment problems. Once officials engage in this perfectly reasonable, simple, and American procedure, there is little danger of strikes."

Zander further believes that municipal employers (presumably mayors, city councils, city managers) should meet employees part way, not half way.

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If the employers will do this in good faith, "the amazing patience and forbearance of public employees will be demonstrated."

But Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., of Detroit, has a different solution. First, he knows of no way that strikes by municipal employees can be avoided. He feels that a strike by a public servant is "tantamount to revolution or insurrection." There are only two things you can do, feels Mayor Jeffries. Either you yield to the striker, or you use force to break up the strike. Neither one is desirable, he adds.

Best solution comes from George N. Schoonmaker, City Manager of Toledo, Ohio. There have been no strikes or threats of a strike in Toledo, he reports, although most of the city employees, including the fire department, are organized under the American Federation of Labor. Even the police are organized by "The Fraternal Order of Police." The answer lies in the Toledo *Labor-Management Citizens Committee,* composed of 18 members. These men are prominent citizens in the community, and their influence is recognized. Whenever there is a dispute between labor and management, this committee, or six representative members of the committee, sits in upon the negotiations. Their presence and influence is in itself usually sufficient to bring about a peaceful and satisfactory settlement. They do not force themselves upon either party, but when called upon for assistance, they act as an advisory body.

Without a doubt, this plan is the best of all, for settling not only municipal strikes but industrial strikes as well. Its utility on a nation-wide scale might be doubtful, but in the semi-privacy of the community, such a system could very well be the answer to the problem of preventing public employees from striking. Once this problem is settled, the question "Should Public Employees Strike?" will be totally unnecessary.

The only part of "push-button warfare" that has been developed is the button.

—Admiral Chester W. Nimitz

* * *

A retiring old usher was instructing his youthful successor in the details of his office. "And always remember, my boy, that we have nothing but good, kind Christians in this church until you try to put someone else in their pew."

—World Call

* * *

A reporter was visiting a small Southern town in search of a man who was supposed to be 112 years old.

"Tell me," he asked a resident, "how do you account for this man having lived all these years?"

"Well," the man replied, "I guess it's because he's never done anything else."

—Wall Street Journal

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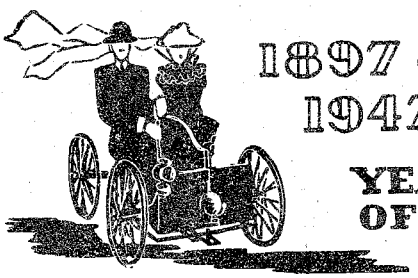

1897 - 1947 50 YEARS OF FORUM

In 1897, they were saying—

"Freshmen—still more sub-freshmen—are incompetent to debate. The freshman has had none of the training essential for a debater; he has had no instruction in history, politics, or economics, no training in argumentation. He is a novice in knowledge and in skill, wholly unequal to the strain of prolonged and systematic thought on difficult subjects."

Theodore Roosevelt on Brooks Adams' book, *The Law of Civilization and Decay*—

> *Mr. Adams closes with some really fine paragraphs, of which the general purport is, that the advent of the capitalist and the economic man, and especially the usurer, marks a condition of consolidation which means the beginning of utter decay. . . . He forgets, however, that there are plenty of modern states which have entirely escaped the general accelerated movement of our time. Spain on the one hand, and Russia on the other, though alike in nothing else, are alike in being entirely outside the current of modern capitalistic development. Spain never suffered from capitalists. She exterminated the economic man in the interest of the emotional and martial man. . . . Soldiers and artists have sunk lower in Spain than elsewhere. . . . Russia is eminently emotional, and her capitalists are of the most archaic type; but it is difficult to say exactly what Russia has done for art, or in what respect her soldiers are superior to other soldiers; and certainly the life of the lower classes in Russia is on the average far less happy than the life of the workingman and farmer in any of the English-speaking country.*

"Since a prejudice and an instinctive inclination have drawn him into the ranks of democracy, Leo XIII, in the depths of his heart, cherishes a special solicitude for France and the United States. A steadfast conviction shows him France as the field where the harvest for the coming summer will ripen; and the United States as that in which he is sowing seed for harvests in years to come. . . .

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EDITOR

Prices

Is industry or government to blame for our mounting inflationary spiral?

THE FREE MARKET AT WORK

Congress has sent to President Truman the bill to kill off what remains of O.P.A. by June 30. It is an appropriate time to reflect on who was right and who was wrong in the great debate which ended in the virtual abandonment of price control last year.

The drive to throw off price control was engineered by a coalition of special interests—groups of manufacturers, dealers and farm producers who found a ready instrument of political action in the congressional coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats. As *consumers and citizens, the people* overwhelmingly supported continuance of price controls, as poll after poll showed. But they were out-talked, out-maneuvered and out-voted by a combination of producers.

We were told by the meat packers and farm interests that the abolition of controls would, after a short period of "adjustment," reduce prices below O.P.A. levels. Today, eight months after the first O.P.A. holiday, wholesale food prices are 50 per cent higher than they were last June.

We were told by manufacturers that controls inhibited production and created shortages; throw off the restraints, they said, and rising production would soon bring prices down. Today industry is turning out goods at nearly twice the prewar volume, but prices are still going up.

We were told by distributors that once a "free market" were re-established, buyer resistance and competition would soon check prices. But prices have been going up for 10 continuous months. Today the general level stands at a peak second only to that of the first postwar boom 25 years ago.

History has proved Chester Bowles completely right. A year ago he and other prophets of sanity were pleading for continued stabilization on the ground that we could thus get out of the economic woods by the spring of 1947. Congress rejected his advice, spring is nearly here, and we are still in the woods.

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The price-cutting gestures by Henry Ford and International Harvester were in the right direction, but of limited scope. Everybody knows that the bubble must break some time, and when it does, trouble lies ahead.

Thus, despite repeated warnings, we are going through almost exactly the same experience we suffered in 1919 and 1920, when a postwar boom-and-bust interrupted the transition to peace. We could have avoided this experience had Congress listened to those who spoke for the nation rather than those who spoke for special interests. But Congress didn't.

The people are now paying the price, and they will pay the second installment of it when the inflationary joyride ends in unemployment and declining production.

—*The Chicago Sun*

WHOSE PRICE RISE?

President Truman and Secretary of the Treasury Snyder have expressed their concern over the high price level and indicated that they think industry should do something about it. In effect, this statement places the responsibility for the recent price spiral upon industry. While there is no doubt that rises in industrial prices have contributed to the present problem, it is clear that only part of the responsibility rests upon industry. An analysis of the rise in the consumers' price index during the past year shows that 70 per cent of the increase was accounted for by higher food prices. A similar picture is shown when the comparisons are made for the entire wartime period. From August, 1939, to date, farm prices have risen about 178 per cent, while industrial prices have risen only 59 per cent.

Government policy, rather than industrial price policy, must bear the primary responsibility for the present high level of prices. It is the government, not industry, which supports farm prices whenever they threaten to decline. It is the government, not industry, which is responsible for the large inflation in money and credit during the last few years. It is the government, not industry, which is responsible for the 18 to 18½ cent an hour wage pattern instituted a year ago, with the consequent necessity for higher freight rates and other price increases. It is the government, not industry, which is chiefly responsible for the increase in grain prices during recent months.

Wherever possible, industrial prices should be reduced. But

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it is a delusion to anticipate that substantial relief from the present high cost of living can be obtained from such price reductions. That relief will only be obtained if food and clothing prices decline.

In 1946 total agricultural income was estimated at $14,700,000,000, as compared with $11,800,000,000 at the inflationary peak of 1919. During the first quarter of 1947, the Department of Agriculture has estimated that farm income is substantially greater than in the similar period of 1946. Cash receipts from the sale of livestock and its products are estimated at about 45 per cent above a year ago, while for dairy products the increase is estimated at 25 per cent. Approximately half of the increase in the cost of living during the past year has been attributable to the higher prices for these two groups of products. Government officials could accomplish more by devoting their attention to what can be done in this sector of the economy than by giving their whole emphasis to industrial prices.

—*The New York Times*

PRICE-MAKERS

Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, does not hold with the theory that industrialists can do nothing about high prices, because prices are established by impersonal market forces. On the contrary, Dr. Nourse declares that "over large areas of economy prices and the course of business are determined by highly personalized administrative decisions made by officials of business organizations." He is quite right in concluding that the forces of competition do not dictate the price policies of a society dominated by giant corporations, big financial institutions and Nation-wide unions. Within limits, a dominant corporation may set price standards for an entire industry and often does. If the policy of the dominant management is to charge as much as the traffic will bear, prices may be higher than they would be under a system of competitively fixed prices. Or if the policy looks toward expanding sales, prices may be set below competitive levels.

Of course, there are limits to this personalized, administrative price-fixing, because of changing production costs. If a dominant trade union succeeds in raising wages and hence production costs, management may be forced to raise prices as an alternative to selling at a loss. No businessman is a completely free agent, even if he possesses monopolistic powers. Nevertheless, there is a choice open to many industrialists of either exploiting scarcity by boosting prices to the limit or else adjusting prices so as to yield fair profits. A few leaders of in-

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dustry have had the long-sight to realize that they can best serve themselves and the public by resisting inflationary trends.

A similar choice is open to labor unions. They may be compelled to demand some wage increases as an offset to rising living costs. But they can do much to arrest further advances in prices and the cost of living by moderating their demands. To sum up: price-making is not the automatic process that some apologists for high price policies allege. Competition has always worked imperfectly and under present unbalanced conditions of demand and supply, it is a very defective mechanism upon which to rely.

—*The Washington Post*

WHY PRICES ARE HIGH

From Mr. Truman's observations with respect to price, the inference might be drawn by the uninformed that producers and distributors had lifted prices to their present levels because it pleased them to do so. If that thesis were accepted it would follow that they could reduce prices at will if they were public spirited citizens.

The politically minded who would reduce prices by exhortation place the cart ahead of the horse. Prices can be reduced only as costs can be cut and, unfortunately for the politicians, the conditions which are primarily responsible for high costs of production are of government making. They must be sharply modified before the inflation threat can be removed and prices reduced.

The fact should not be forgotten that the government set out in 1933 to manage the economy to abundance and prosperity by inflation. In its determination to lift prices quickly and markedly, it resorted to about every known inflationary device except printing press money.

By financing a very large part of the cost of the war by borrowing from the commercial banks the government gave the patient a second dose of inflation medicine. Then, at the end of the war, in its zeal to sustain the inflation for which its short-sighted policies had been responsible, it lent its support to a round of wage increases which added further to costs of production and made a further additional rise in prices necessary.

For a short while the administration may make political capital of the price situation. Unfortunately the impression prevails rather widely that industry is antisocial and that the high cost of living is due to its determination to maintain prices at the highest possible figure.

The facts are, of course, the other way. There is scarcely a single successful enterprise in the United States which has succeeded because it sold its product at high prices. On the other

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hand there are scores and hundred of businesses which are successful because they have sold improved products at progressively lower prices.

But this success formula does and cannot work in the face of the inflationary pressures which stem directly from administration policy in promoting recovery after the depression, in financing the war by borrowing and finally in seeking to maintain the wartime rate of take-home pay without regard to the volume of production or the quality of products.

The problem of high prices is for the government to solve. It cannot pass the buck to industry. Most business people would welcome a government program looking toward the deflation of costs, and thus of prices, but they cannot put such a program in operation. Government efforts to compel them to reduce prices as a public service will fail and, in the process, are likely to precipitate new economic difficulties.

—*The Cleveland Plain Dealer*

INFLATION SPIRAL

Mr. Truman, on the whole, is a level-headed, practical man. Consequently, there is to be found some little surprise in his statement that he hopes that big industry will see the handwriting on the wall and follow the lead of a few pioneers in reducing prices.

What does Mr. Truman label what we now have? Every day has seemed to bring newly "upped" prices in many commodities. With all the new demands for higher wages, the demands for new taxes, state and municipal, the cost of living seems likely to continue its slow spiral.

However that may be, it seems unlikely that industry, with voluntary price cuts, can reverse the spiral. What reverses these things is failure in demand—either inability to purchase because of lack of dollars, or customer resistance that produces refusal to buy. There is such resistance today. Within a few hours the Country has been reading of the perturbation in the automobile industry, and decision for a thoroughgoing appraisal of the retail market to see if there actually is a demand for 12 million new cars.

That is the true index of the present situation. Industry will charge what the traffic will bear. Once demand falls off, prices will fall off. And Mr. Truman, were it politic and fair, could erase that handwriting on the wall more quickly by appealing to the people themselves to go to work on the price inflation spiral.

—*The Portland Press Herald*

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COUNTRY COMMENT

It is something to know that such a man exists. A first-rate carpenter who charges as little as he can, sends out his bills as late as he can, and then worries over being fair. One who can always use more help than he has, but who hates to hire a helper when he can save money for a customer.

C. W. is in his forties, thin face, long jaw, gray hair, blue eyes that are a little slow in meeting yours but in no hurry to leave yours once they have met. The voice is a casual drone. When you go to see him, he glances up and sees you coming, then glances away. But when your errand is over, he says almost resentfully, "You don't have to hurry, do you?"

When C. W. built my small house several years ago, I postponed for a time having a stone step at the door. But I questioned a local builder about the job, a man equipped to handle large stones, a younger and more ambitious man than C. W. "Ten dollars delivered," he said briskly. The next spring while away from home I decided to have the job done and wrote to C. W. to arrange it. When he spoke to the other man, the reply was: "You don't expect me to do that for 10 dollars *this* year, do you?" C. W. didn't argue. He found a stone himself, a huge slab, loaded it with what assistance he could get onto his small truck, blew up his tires, crept along the road, and put the stone in place in front of my door—for 10 dollars.

I should hate to make him out wiser or ruggeder than he is. The very act of writing about him perhaps does him an injustice, a man who scrupulously avoids calling attention to himself. Having done a job a little better than anyone had a right to expect, he likes to have his workmanship noticed. But he would rather die than point out his good workmanship himself.

Recently he made me a simple but beautiful pine cabinet for my record-player. After loading it into my car, I started to pay him. "I haven't figured it up yet," he said. Then in that characteristically gruff, almost resentful tone, "Why should I have figured it up?"

C. W. lives farther out in the country than I do. If the city is something to escape, he escapes it as well as any man I know. His manner, to be sure, may lack a certain smoothness. Offered a glass of buttermilk one summer evening, he declined. "Never have drunk it. Guess I won't start now." Politically he would probably be called a conservative.

To call him a typical New Englander would be to flatter New England. A hundred or two hundred years ago he might have been typical. Perhaps.

—ROBERT FRANCIS

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An invocation of the comic spirit

For Negro Literature: The Catharsis of Laughter

By Charles I. Glicksberg

Professor of English, Brooklyn College

TO DETERMINE why Negro writers have as yet produced no literature that is richly humorous and ironic in its effect, no swinging, witty satire, would take us far afield in a study of the history, the socio-economic background and status of the Negro in American civilization. It would call for a psychological disquisition on the nature of humor and the dynamics of satire. All we have to point out, however, is that in the life of any people, particularly of a minority group that staggers under the handicap of racial discrimination, the satisfaction of economic needs is of primary importance. When the life of man is in danger, he is in no condition to laugh at his predicament. All his energies are concentrated on the task of coping with a threatening environment, of struggling to achieve a measure of security in a world he never made. Survival for the American Negro necessarily comes first.

The Negro writer is born a "problem child" into a white and hostile civilization. Before he has fully recovered from "the trauma of birth," he discovers that he is "different." His color alienates him from the rest of society. The only spiritual home he knows, the only place where he belongs, is to be found among his own people, in the slums of the Black Belt. The knowledge that he must move in two worlds, one the Ghetto of racial humiliation and the other the "white" world which despises him, makes him a split personality, a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, incapable of reaching complete self-realization.

The racial stereotypes which stand as an ugly barrier between him and the whites force him to be perpetually on his guard, lest he betray his festering hatred and invite drastic punishment. He must step warily, fearful that what he says may be misconstrued. Since he must live in a white culture, he is inevitably affected by the stereotypes which he encounters at every turn, in the movies and in literature as well as in school and on the streets. The whites own the organs of opinion, the agencies that mould the public mind; they control the press, the radio, the movies, the schools, the publishing houses. They prescribe the conditions under which the Negro problem is discussed. In fact, it is they who create the Negro problem. Yet difficult as it may be for him to escape the terrific impact of white dominance, he must make the attempt or he will never achieve self-realization as an American writer. And

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one of the most "revolutionary" weapons for effecting his full creative emancipation is to forge the weapon of humor in the fires of racial suffering.

Frankly and fearlessly he must face that fact that he is the victim of a widespread, self-perpetuating linguistic conspiracy. Any reference to the Negro is almost certain to contain damaging connotations. The language has already settled the issue. To be guilty of an atrocious pun, it has "colored" the problem. The Negro is regarded as not only different but also inescapably inferior. In many parts of the country he can be insulted with impunity. No chivalrous Southerner will accord a Negro the common courtesy of address.

Though there is no shadow of truth in these racial stereotypes, they persist and continue to spread. Once they have found lodgment in the swamp of the unconscious, no marshaling of facts, no reasoned knowledge, can root them out. The only effectual method is to blast them out with the dynamite of humor. The ignorant and the unthinking are deaf to the voice of truth but they cannot bear the blinding light of ridicule nor the asepsis of satire.

Instead of concealing from himself the extent to which such vicious stereotypes poison the mind of the whites, the Negro writer should examine them realistically, with a kind of masochistic relish, and then proceed to hoist the whites with their own petard. Let him cultivate the savage wit and devastating satire of a Jonathan Swift. For the whites betray themselves nakedly in the language they use concerning the Negro; they stand beautifully exposed to attack. Let the Negro writer make the most of his opportunity. Let him study intently the vocabulary of racial abuse, and thus hold up the mirror to the hate-distorted, snarling, fury-frenzied face of the whites who call themselves "good Christians." Let him expose the hideous ideological farce at which white America has connived in order to cover over with the garment of righteousness its unconscionable exploitation of Negro labor.

Every disparaging remark against the Negro singles out the color of his skin. He is black and, therefore, eternally damned. Here is ripe material for entertaining discourse, food for poignant satire. Here are themes that could provoke laughter perilously close to tears. For example, how can a "black" man, even if received into the bosom of the Church, ever know salvation or enter into the Kingdom of Heaven? The only alternative is to create a purgatorial chamber where the skin of the Negro will be bleached so that, after due pigmentary purgation, he will be transported, lily white, by choiring angels with radiant white wings to the pearly gates of a white Kingdom of Heaven.

The Negroes are not unmindful of the potency of humor, its cathartic, liberating function; only it is a folk possession, not yet the property of the writers. Throughout the world, Negro folklore and proverbs have one characteristic in common:

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they point derisive fingers at the insufferable hypocrisy and brutal arrogance of the whites. The African savage, after his first contact with the all-powerful, gun-shooting whites, soon realized that satire, the poison-tipped arrow of art, was the best weapon to use. As Julius E. Lips points out in *The Savage Hits Back*, he planned his work in a spirit of mockery, taking his revenge in the form of art. The power of the creative imagination repelled the assaults of brute force. The African Negro stripped the white man of his aura of divinity and saw him as the devil incarnate, with feet of clay. Even the white God lost his legend of terrible omnipotence.

Between the whites and blacks looms a high wall of caste, a gulf of separation. The Negroes in the United States must use every weapon at their disposal in the effort to break down this Chinese Wall of exclusion, and the Negro writer can help by mercilessly satirizing the blind spots and contradictions of the "white" mind: its tendency to lump all Negroes into a single, invidious category. What mordant variations can be played on the mythic theme that the Negro is emotionally primitive, superstitious, sexually uninhibited! What delirious surrealistic extravaganzas cannot be compounded on the regnant stereotype of the Negro as exotic, unrestrained, barbaric, indubitably African! What a vast field for exploration by a Freudian satirist! Why are Americans, especially Southerners, perennially fascinated by the sexual life of Negroes? Why are they lured by this urge to recapture the gratification of primitive instincts? Here is abundant material for a riotous farce which would explode the neurotically-nurtured myth of the Negro's unrestrained sexuality.

If the Negro writer adopts such a method, his people may denounce him as a traitor. Besides, he will have to school himself before he can hope to overcome his fixation on violence and horror and accustom himself to the scalpel of satire. In poetry, for example, the "blues" express the essential melancholy of the Negro soul, the dark legend of a people born to trouble. In "Minstrel Man,"[1] Langston Hughes gives us the true portrait of the Negro:

> Because my mouth
> Is wide with laughter
> And my throat
> Is deep with song,
> You do not think
> I suffer after
> I have held my pain
> So long.
>
> Because my mouth
> Is wide with laughter
> You do not hear
> My inner cry;
> Because my feet
> Are gay with dancing
> You do not know
> I die.

And it must seem like a cruel joke to demand that the Negro writer translate the pain, the misery, the persecution of his people into the blithe, ironic stuff of comedy. For as the authors of *Black Metropolis* point out, the devils "of poverty, ignorance, and racial discrimination

[1] Reprinted from *The Dreams Keeper* by Langston Hughes, by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. © 1932, by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

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are never completely exorcised by prayer nor drowned by rotgut liquor. They are not banished by hot music or gospel hymns, nor danced away by jitterbugging or shouting. They lie slumbering in the nether soul of every man, woman, and child in the Black Ghetto, and they emerge at unexpected times and places."

But this strategy of remorseless satire and scathing humor does not mean that the Negro writer is following a line of retreat; on the contrary, it powerfully reinforces his militant protest against racial discrimination. Uncle Tom has given way to Uncle Tom's children, and it is the measure of the difference between them that the children can not only stand up for their civil rights but also laugh out loud. It is precisely this gift for employing satire which would convincingly demonstrate that the Negro writer had succeeded in breaking out of the house of bondage. In brave, ringing words A. Philip Randolph once declared that the tragedy of his people is not their tragedy alone. It is the white man's tragedy, too. And it is for America, he eloquently concluded, "to transform that tragedy into a great American triumph." Incredible as it may seem, one of the most efficacious means of hastening that triumph is laughter, subtle yet uproarious laughter, the emancipation of the spirit of the folk through the use of comedy. There is no question of glossing over the facts or running away from the sight of all the suffering the Negro people in America must still endure. The writer is duty-bound to bear witness unto the truth. The tragic reality pictured in *Native Son* and *The White Face* could be amply substantiated. There is enough clinical material in books like *Patterns of Negro Segregation, The Negro's Share,* and *Black Metropolis* to supply a thousand novels of documented horror.

But artistic truth must be distinguished from sociological truth. The writer with a painter's brush, not with a camera lens, furnishes an imaginative, not a factual, interpretation of experience. Unfortunately, the predominant note struck in contemporary Negro fiction is that of unrelieved horror. The horror is unquestionably real. With challenging verisimilitude, the Negro writer portrays in terms of art the disease-breeding, terribly congested slums of the Black Belt, the high incidence of tuberculosis, the drunkenness and immorality that poverty and overcrowding breed. We repeat: he must tell the truth about these facts, hiding nothing. But the stark tragedy of his report will gain greatly in communicative efficacy if he can find a way of dialectically resolving the tension between tears and rage, uncontrollable fury and the intellectual mastery of his material. The use of all the resources of verbal and dramatic irony need involve no distortion of his facts. The irony is implicit in the American language, in the events taking place all around him, in the dynamics of the cultural situation. All he has to do is to appropriate it and give it artistic embodiment. That is what Negro literature urgently needs at present as a vitaliz-

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ing influence. If Negro writers are willing to experiment with this fruitful method, their work will take a new direction; tragedy will be tinctured with the prophylaxis of humor, comedy will be all the more poignant because it is infused with elements of irony.

Negro literature in our time is too deadly serious in tone, too sombre, too violently tragic in content. Richard Wright's *Native Son* is a blast of murderous fury; *The White Face* carries even further this creative research into the volcanic depths of the Negro's resentment and rage; Ann Petry's *The Street* weaves a plot that is shrilly melodramatic in its indictment. Such starkly naturalistic presentations are illuminating and helpful, but how far should Negro writers go—how far can they hope to go—in exploiting this genre of race violence and horror? There is undeniable truth in Richard Wright's argument, stated in his introduction to *Black Metropolis*, that "the whole inner landscape of American Negro life, born of repression, is so little known that when whites see it they brand it 'emotionally running amuck' or 'psychopathic manifestations'." But this is no proof that the method of naturalistic pessimism in fiction is the only one, or the best one, to follow. Humor makes possible not only a satisfying fling at the shortcomings of Negroes and the vices of the whites but also a creative release that is therapeutic in its effect. The psychic tension is drained off; the growl of hatred is turned into a hearty, if still embittered, laugh; and the laughter spreads until it sweeps over the Deep South and pervades the whole world.

The aim of the Negro writer as ironist is not to act as the professional black jester of the whites nor to revenge himself upon them by falsely exaggerating the facts. His aim is rather to give creative expression to the ironies and incongruities inherent in white civilization. This requires no elaborate documentary research. The capacity for earthy, liberating laughter is there all the time in the heart of his people, waiting to be recorded, the laughter of a folk that cannot make head or tail of the vagaries of the white man: his pomposity, his egregious vanity, his nightmarish fears, his combination of diabolical cruelty and Christian piety. There is enormous food for ironic mirth in the white man's lexicon of racial insults, his baiting of colored people with the term "nigger," his obdurate refusal to capitalize the "N" in *Negro*, thus wounding the Negro's self-respect. Experience has taught the Negro the weaknesses of the whites, the paranoiac streak in their nature. He smiles wryly at the Church which bids all men welcome but which admits only whites. In *One Nation*, edited by Wallace Stegner, a picture is shown of a Negro sitting on the steps of a church on which this inscription appears: "A House of Prayer for All People." Wallace Stegner, not a Negro, adds this sardonic commentary: "But the Negro learned early that if he wished to worship God in the South it was easier to worship apart. 'A House of Prayer

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for All People' means a House of Prayer for all *White* People." This has its tragic implications but it also casts a blinding light on the quality of our Christian civilization. And the point is that all this, if seen with the piercing eye of a Jonathan Swift or George Bernard Shaw, would be screamingly funny, a horrible satire on the whites.

Negroes are only just beginning to laugh. Robert Russa Moton, in *What the Negro Thinks,* has this to say about the modern Negro:

> Once he was disgusted whenever a white man spoke volubly about his "black mammy," but now he is apt to laugh to himself. And if you tell him the South is the best place for the Negro and that the Southern white man is his best friend he looks to see whether you really expect him to believe it. But the outstanding joke is to hear a white man talk about race integrity, though at this the Negro is in doubt whether to laugh or swear. Sometimes it is all a huge joke to him, and his richest humor, indulged only in private, surrounds his musings on the average white man's pretensions of superiority, the inconsistencies in his application of standards, and the hypocrisy of his professions. . . .

All this is revealing but the statement needs considerable filling out. Why should the Negro laugh by himself? Why should he indulge his richest humor only in private? It should become a collective possession. The Negro writer must give his people the gratifying opportunity to laugh out loud. The time will surely come when the creative Negro will realize that humor is as potent a weapon as tragedy or tears. It is regrettable that Negro writers have thus far failed to bring out this aspect of the character of their people: their salty folk humor, their inexhaustible fund of racial jokes. Take Sterling A. Brown's poem, "Slim in Hell," the delightful, harum-scarum adventures of a rascal who, on coming to heaven, is given wings by St. Peter and told to visit Hell and report his observations. After beholding all the tainted vices and wickedness and the sulphurous horrors of hell, he comes back breathless with the discovery that the place he mistook for hell was really Dixie. Then comes the humor that redeems the undercurrent of horror:

> Then Peter say, "you must
> Be crazy, I vow,
> Wher'n hell dja think Hell *was,*
> Anyhow?
>
> "Git on back to de yearth,
> Cause I got de fear,
> You'se a lettle doo dumb,
> Fo' to stay up here."[2]

It may be that the contemporary Negro writer is so integral a part of the social reality he has known that he is forced to select characters and themes which portray his people in a tragic light. But the Negro cannot be reduced to a monolithic type: the slum-shocked victim of "white" oppression, the neurotic, race-obsessed underdog. It is probable that the Negro writer, for reasons of his own, purposely slanted his material in this direction. His

[2] From "Slim in Hell" by Sterling A. Brown, *The Negro Caravan.* Reprinted by permission of The Dryden Press.

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creative strategy evidently is not to blink the ugly truth but to reveal the life of his people in all its hopelessness and horror. Satire, however, is possible only to those who have learned to sublimate their emotions; comedy is the flower and fruit of a highly developed literary consciousness. No one is counseling the Negro writer to "play" with racial experience. All one asks is that this material be psychically distanced, refined in the alembic of the imagination, distilled into the specific virtue of cathartic laughter. The reply that the Negro people have suffered too much to create the spirit of comedy is not convincing. It is no answer at all. The same creative vision and energy that shapes tragedy is at work in comedy: the perception of deep-cutting incongruities, insight into the contradictions that bedevil human nature at its best and worst, the precariousness of life, the contrast between animal and divine impulses.

There is none of this in Negro literature. To be sure, there are humorous lyrics in dialect, but the humor is generally tame, self-conscious, forced. Negro writers have not caught the inimitable accents and racy quality of Negro laughter. Despite its crudities, *The Walls of Jericho*, by Rudolph Fisher, is so remarkable a novel because it did succeed in capturing the Negro's capacity for carefree laughter.

By concentrating on the tragic sense of Negro life, the Negro writer in America is simply not telling the whole truth. Laughter can set him free. The comic spirit can be directed not only against himself and his people but against the race problem, life in America. There is a veritable gold mine of material at his disposal. Pity achieves but little; the portrayal of horror awakens but a morbid interest; laughter is fatal. Once the world is led to laugh at the incredible absurdities of the whites, the cause of white superiority is doomed. The essential unity of tragedy and comedy confounds every attempt to separate them by arbitrary categories. Such boundary lines are conventional rather than fundamental. The Negro writer who wishes to give a faithful portrayal of human existence must include the whole gamut of human emotions and the infinite variety of human experiences. It is by voicing these contrasts that he enables us to catch a glimpse of the organic wholeness and intrinsic mysteriousness and complexity of life: life as a symphony of many blended notes, the harsh and the harmonious, the bitter and the sweet, the ridiculous and the sublime, the comic and the tragic. There is a moral in all this for the Negro writer if he is great enough and talented enough to rise to his opportunity.

One day during the French Revolution, a man remarked to Talleyrand, who was Bishop of Auton: "The Christian religion—what is it? It would be easy to start a religion like that."

"Oh, yes," replied Talleyrand. "One would only have to get crucified and rise again on the third day."

—*Rabbi Review*

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Main Street

Time clangs in the tower,
And inattentive Space,
Ignorant of day and hour,
And bland and dull of face,
Loiters about the street,

Idle as girls and boys,
Hearing the clapper's beat
As witless, irrelevant noise,—
There being no reason nor rhyme,

So far as she can see,
In tongues proclaiming Time,
Whatever that may be,—
If anything, thinks she.

—DAVID MORTON

Desiring to Give All

Desiring to give all, to be all gift,
A living giver, then a giver dead,
He gave to friends the best thoughts in his head,
And eking generosity with thrift,
Pondered if there could not be found a way
Whereby the head itself, the clean bare skull,
Might not be saved and deeded to a friend
For some not wholly sentimental end,
But something sober, simple, functional,
A paper-weight for desk, a door-stop, say,
To serve in summer on a blowing day.

—ROBERT FRANCIS

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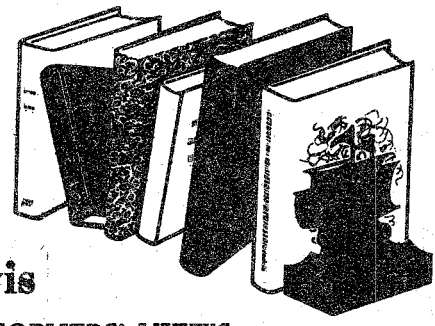
BOOKS
In Brief



By Jasper R. Lewis

THE PHILOSOPHERS' VIEWS

AN Essay on Morals, by Philip Wylie, (Rinehart, $2.50), is definitely not a book for the orthodox or the weak-minded. While it is a philosophy of life, it is a lively document of personal opinion and challenging conclusions. Morals here include, but are not limited by, the everyday interpretation of the word. Wylie is after bigger game, in fact, the biggest: the scientists, the churches, man, and even God himself.

The starting point of the essay is that man is an animal, evolved over billions of years. The world's religions — all of them — erected upon the vestiges of residual instinct, legends and yearnings in man, are not dealt with gently. Man himself, to be sure, is handled the same way. Wylie early assures the reader that he, and the author as well, are both beasts.

After centuries of floundering in religions which used fear as a compelling force, the discoveries of Freud—"the most remarkable piece of insight in the history of civilized man"—offered the first intelligent approach to man's history. Unfortunately, Freudian theory is popularly applied almost entirely to matters of sex. Wylie admits this is the most vital impulse of man, but he does not confine himself to that. Deeper and more general application of Freud's beliefs should be made to the every urge of man, to teach him to be mentally and spiritually free.

Wylie reminds us of man's stumbling progress, the gradual acquisition of knowledge to replace ignorance. In only one field was progress stopped, the field covered by religions, man's relationship to a God. Here tabus were established for him, and these have prevented comprehension of man's ego. Wylie accuses all organized churches of using these tabus for self-preservation and growth of power and he frankly would abolish them. As an example of how religions have affixed themselves, he cites communistic Russia, since Communism is a form of religion to its adherents: "Lenin is God. Stalin is the Son. Marx is the Holy Ghost."

Wylie does not neglect to point out that now, at the beginning of

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the atomic age, man's chief concern is destruction of man. Now is the time for him to find himself and remake the world—or else! He has suggestions to offer in this direction. The first is that the Darwinian theory should be taught early, universally. Then our mixed origins —ethnology—should be taught the young, as a counter to race prejudice. Third is the Freudian interpretation of sex instincts. These basic tenets would evolve a society capable of world understanding and government. These things would replace the various faiths in God, which after all are not god-like but man-made illusions of Godhead. Wylie believes we are "close to a hold on Value—on Morality—on Eternal Truths." It might be summed up in this: man created God as he saw Him—like himself, which means animal-like. The opposite should be true: "We are not animals like God; but we could be Godlike animals."

There is more to the essay than that. There is enjoyment for the iconoclast; there is fury for the religious, and there is irritation for the scientist. At times, Wylie works himself into a frenzy; at others, he is quick with shrewd knowledge of humanity. For the reader who is not too orthodox to read condemnation of his own opinions, there is brilliant comment and sharp criticism.

Philosopher's Quest, by Irwin Edman, (Viking, $3.00), is a serenely philosophical outlook on life as it is today. Dr. Edman is a professor of philosophy at Columbia University, and accustomed to the shortcomings of men and women in the realm of higher speculation. He is not offering a route to truth, nor any guarantee of its discovery. In a leisurely, meandering, pleasantly middle-of-the-road journey through philosophic thought, he looks backward, rather than forward, for clues to the present. He is not militant about the present nor pessimistic about the world either of today or tomorrow.

There is a mature acceptance of things as they are; "the patterns of ordinary life are really the deposit of philosophies centuries old." That does not mean ignorance of the need for advancement. The philosopher is aware how the different ideologies resulting from philosophies of the past were responsible for the Second World War. In imagination, Edman describes a natural result of impatience with philosophy, the prohibition of its study and teaching in the United States in the year 2060. With a keen sense and relish of humor, he describes how subsidies were paid to publishers not to issue books on the subject, much as bonuses were paid to plow under crops in the 1930's. The result, however, was a loss of initiative and leadership in industry and everything else, so that there was eventually repeal and rebirth into a world "in which, if only briefly and on occasion, men may spaciously and soaringly live."

There are imaginary dialogues with the famous philosophers of old, designed to accentuate their tenets, and sometimes show present misunderstanding of those beliefs. Two chapters are particularly delightful

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reading. In one, the sheer hopelessness of doing things philosophically for the human race is illustrated. Here Professor Wilkins of a Midwest university is "popularized" by a successful former student through teas, lectures and the patronage of the "best" people. In the other, the "quest" approach is illustrated by the portrayal of a seeker after truth, a doubter, neither philosopher nor crank. By questioning the great and small in all walks of life, this doubter finally arrives at the conclusion that while there is no proof for the intelligent and intellectual, there is a philosophy of effort and hope, without which the world would be an impossible place.

It would be unfair to Edman to accuse him of being satisfied with the world as it is; he can be credited with trying to show that it is wiser and more truly philosophic to accept the world as the best so far of a bad job, with the advice to fight optimistically for better understanding of first and last things.

BRIEFER COMMENT

MISCELLANEOUS INTEREST

There is more than pleasant travelogue in *Angry Men-Laughing Men, the Caribbean Caldron,* by Wenzell Brown, (Greenberg, $3.50). It is an eye-witness report of a visit to the nations bordering on or in the Caribbean. While economic questions are discussed, Brown's reporting pictures best the political scene, whether in Trujillo's Dominica or some of the British spots. It is an uneasy area, and the story is boldly told of the dangers inherent in the situation, dangers to us as well as to the countries themselves.

A little book of profiles of Lincoln is *Meet Abraham Lincoln,* by G. Lynn Sumner, (Harper's, $1.50). There are six sympathetic chapters, discussing Lincoln's books, the women in his life, his cabinet, his generals and his views on the union.

The social and economic problems of the world are considered by Dr. George A. Lundberg in *Can Science Save Us?* (Longmans, $1.75). Dr. Lundberg does not suggest that science is a panacea, but that there is hope for an eventually sane solution of our troubles by means of education and research along scientific lines and in institutions organized especially for the purpose.

I Married a Russian, edited by Lucie Street, (Emerson Books $3.00), contains the letters of an English wife of a Russian, written mostly from Karkov between 1930 and 1945. In addition to human interest incidents, there is bright description of Russian life. The editor's notations place political and economic events in their connective positions between the letters.

Not a biography, but affectionate reminiscences of a sprightly old lady, *The Marble Man's Wife,* by Hayden Norwood, (Scribner's $2.75), is the story of Thomas Wolfe's mother. From conversational visits to Mrs. Wolfe in Asheville, North Carolina, Norwood

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gathered the story of the Wolfe family, less of the son-writer than of his father and mother and their domestic problems. It will be welcomed by Wolfe admirers.

Soldiers' Album, compiled by Col. R. E. Dupuy and Lt. Col. H. L. Bregstein, (Houghton, Mifflin, $5.00), is the S.H.A.E.F. pictorial history of the war in Europe, particularly on the Western front. Its 150 pages of nearly 400 photographs from army and foreign civilian cameramen form a permanent record of the horrors of war.

Curious Relations, by William d'Arfey, edited by William Plomer, (Sloane Associates, $3.00), is in the *Life with Father* category. D'Arfey, (a pseudonym), left the unfinished manuscript telling about his British ancestors, their friends and servants. The time is the last half of the nineteenth century and the early part of this. Whether genuine recollections or a piece of fiction, it is pleasant and descriptive reading.

Whether Nostradamus could foretell the future or not depends on your point of view. This sixteenth century work is so often mentioned that this *Complete Prophecies of Nostradamus,* (Crown, $3.00), is a useful book. It is translated, edited and interpreted by Henry C. Roberts, with the original French arranged parallel to the English.

Samuel R. Zack has spent much time and effort arbitrating disputes between labor and management. *Arbitration of Labor Disputes,* (Doniger & Raughley, $2.50), is a book of case histories in which the author acted as arbiter.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, an Informal Biography, by Alden Hatch, (Holt, $3.00), is informal enough to include oaths when F.D.R. uttered them, and to show the everyday side of the man. The pages are filled with history, told from the inside. That does not mean secrets, but how events came about. Some of the important figures of the past 16 years show their personal weaknesses.

James Branch Cabell comments upon the legends and history of the Commonwealth of Virginia in *Let Me Lie,* (Farrar, Straus, $3.75). Cabell fans will relish his usual wit and brilliant satire, here applied to some of the vaunted glories of old Virginia, and resulting in the exposure of some blue-blooded family skeletons. Cabell loves Virginia, and while he may not love truth more, yet he confesses imagined historical events as well as facts. Some of the pieces have been printed in magazines.

FICTION

An excellent adult novel of American life today, a touch of the war and a husband away in it, a wife who becomes interested in a refugee doctor—that is *The Left Hand Is the Dreamer,* by Nancy Wilson Ross, (Sloane, $3.50). The characterization of people that are typical of their class is well done; they are human beings with understandable thoughts and moods.

Laura Z. Hobson offers an exceptionally fine story in *Gentlemen's Agreement,* (Simon & Schuster, $2.75). It is the story of a Christian writer who pretends to be Jewish to get the proper slant for

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an article on anti-semitism. As a brief for tolerance, it is balanced and effective; as a piece of fiction alone, it is upper grade.

The Case of Mr. Crump, by Ludwig Lewisohn, (Farrar, Straus, $3.00), is the first American edition of a novel published in Europe in 1931. It concerns the social and marital trials of a candidate for a psychiatrist. Morbidity *über alles!*

Mervin Wall, Irish playwright, offers a bizarre novel of life in the tenth century in Ireland, using the devil, a group of monks and all the paraphernalia of witchery. *The Unfortunate Fursey,* (Crown, $2.75), is a rollicking travesty of the beliefs of the times, liberally sprinkled with humor and satire.

The Children, by Howard Fast, (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $2.50), is a novel of dead-end kids in the New York slums, full of the bitterness of boyhood's trials under poverty. First published in a magazine 10 years ago, the story is morbid but realistic.

Devotees of novels dealing with psychiatry will find *The Echo,* by Lilla Van Saher, (Dutton, $2.75), replete not only with psychiatrist's deductions but the causative events of one woman's attitude. It is a French story of the pre-war and war period, with reflections of the European state of mind.

Life in Mississippi a century and a half ago when it was a frontier for adventurous men—and women—offers an exciting background for *The Wild Yazoo,* by John Myers Myers, (Dutton, $3.00). It is an adventure story, pure and simple, with action that is suited to the tempo of the South it portrays.

Cider from Eden, by Nancy Bruff, (Dutton, $2.75), is built around some of the "better" people of Brooklyn Heights in the last decades of the 1800's. For character study and good workmanship, it is worth reading, and, by skirting carefully in and out of tabu topics, it bids for popular interest.

In a Yellow Wood, by Gore Vidal, (Dutton, $2.75), is about a returned veteran who tries to find himself through the fringes of the Wall Street environment, the hot spots of town, and some of the phonies of city social life. The story is as ordinary as the characters, and the telling of it is in keeping.

A light but entertaining novel with the historical background of Colonial America, particularly Virginia, is *Close Pursuit,* by Katherine Newlin Burt, (Scribner's, $3.00). The love interest is supplied by romance between a planter's son and a newcomer from England. It is pleasant fiction of the forsooth! type.

Then there was the little moron standing on a street corner with a gun in one hand, a knife in the other. A friend passed by and asked what he was doing. "Oh," the little moron replied, "I was deciding whether to shoot up the alley or cut across the street."

—*Capper's Weekly*

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

"STYLE" is a young man's fancy. It is, of course, an old master's long-wedded wife and is taken for granted by him. But in the theatre there are no old masters, and everybody is young—painfully so. So it happens that everybody talks about style in the theatre. There are even people who strive for it and point to it with pride, as if to say, "See what a pretty girl I have married." Such a playwright, of course, was Oscar Wilde, and by now it is surely a matter for grizzled dons to point out to their young charges that the notorious sunflower poet and *flaneur* was a "stylist," that he dandified his careless plots with many of the best turned epigrams in the English language, and that he wrote a brand of comedy known as "artificial" because it abounded in mannered characters and "mannered" manners. You would think, then, that no one reviewing or even casually commenting on John Gielgud's production of *The Importance of Being Earnest* would grow prolix over the virtues of Wilde's style. Certainly no one would acclaim it with that sense of virgin discovery which makes many an enthusiast of the present production behave like "stout Cortez"—except that, unlike Keats' hero, he is not content with staring and is, in fact, highly voluble.

The reasons are not far to seek. Style is so rare a phenomenon in our contemporary theatre that it becomes conspicuous wherever it appears. The prevailing realism of the stage makes dramatic writing and production amorphous; plays are smeared on paper and productions are smeared on the stage area like so many large layers of jam. They spread all over; they may have texture, but they have no form. The public is invited to take a bite of the jam, and this is called "experience." The more bites you take, the better it is supposed to be for you, because you are ingesting "life" or "reality," and that's what a play is expected to be—a slice, or a series of slices, of life. The public is so conditioned to this viewpoint that, on the one hand, it will accept any number of chunks of so-called drama, so long as they give

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the impression, by texture or flavor, that this is "life." And, on the other hand, this public generally wags its head, as though it were punch-drunk and didn't know what to make of things, whenever somebody like Saroyan or O'Neill, refusing to content himself with a mere mass of reality, begins to shape it—that is, stylizes it—so that it may express his own specific view of a problem, or his *idea* of reality. *The Iceman Cometh* puzzles audiences. They know that they *are* expected to like it or at least to respect it. But why does O'Neill let his characters repeat themselves so often, freeze into silence and an attitude while other characters are speaking, and indulge in virtually interminable speeches? That isn't how people behave in life, and it is life "in facsimile" that audiences have learned to expect from straight plays,—unless, of course, the "unreality" takes the form of sensational trickiness, as in *Lady in the Dark*, and they come to the production expecting some stage trick politely known as a *tour de force*. And, of course, the O'Neills and Saroyans (and Strindbergs!), at their best, don't want to provide trick dramatics. They do not separate the real from the stylized, as did Moss Hart when he alternated realistic and fantasied scenes in *Lady in the Dark*. Reality and style are inseparable for them. Reality is style, and style is reality, because life takes a special shape for them the moment they take a *view* of life—in other words, the moment they *create*, and life becomes art in their work.

Another reason for our suddenly rediscovering style in *The Importance of Being Earnest* (or for that matter, also in that earlier successful Wilde revival, *Lady Windermere's Fan*) is that the production exhibits it. That has not always been the case. Mediocre productions have presented Wilde's plays not in their own terms, but in terms of the usual amorphous, slice-of-life, smear-of-jam, realism. The audience was invited by such uninspired productions to accept and enjoy the plays as reality. Since an audience is not ordinarily insane, it could not help noting the obvious —namely, that Wilde's characters were ectoplastic puppets speaking and behaving like creatures in a dream world, and that his plots were absurd and shoddy. Both as director and leading actor of the current production, John Gielgud knows better than that. He knows that he is dealing with a nonsensical story, and that his whole job is to present it with such aplomb and such impeccable artificiality in its own politely, restrainedly mannered terms (for this is no jamboree but Alice-in-Wonderland fantasia in the most refined environment of titled and well-dressed gentlemen and ladies!) that the nonsense becomes gratifying. It has its own consistency, its own shape and texture, its own pulsation, its own "life." One had only to watch Gielgud lazily—like a statue infinitely wearied of the vulgarities of flesh, passion, desire and will—handle a handkerchief, lounge about, walk over to greet a character lackadaisically, or pretend to

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have just returned from the funeral of his non-existent brother. One had only only to hear Margaret Rutherford, who plays the invincibly snobbish Lady Bracknell, reply to Gielgud's admission that he smokes: "I am glad to hear it. A man should always have an occupation of some kind." Or hear her rattle on to her nephew Jack, who has said that he knows nothing: "I am pleased to hear it. I do not approve of anything that tampers with natural ignorance. Ignorance is like a delicate exotic fruit; touch it and the bloom is gone. The whole theory of modern education is unsound. Fortunately, in England, at any rate, education produces no effect whatsoever. If it did, it would prove a serious danger to the upper classes, and probably lead to acts of violence in Grosvenor Square. What is your income?" The delivery is cool, detached, imperturbable. The woman speaks like an attitude incarnate rather than a woman who happens to have an opinion or is trying to appear clever. She speaks and behaves as a matter of course, because she *is* the attitude, not the person. That is what really makes the play "artificial comedy."

And the final point that may be scored here is that not only do such lines, comportment, and depersonalized existence produce inviolate nonsense—that is, nonsense that is always consistent, that has a kind of mad consistency, and is uncontaminated with real feeling—but, paradoxically, *sense*. The result is nonsense on one plane which projects a trajectory of sense in another dimension, the real world. Reality is brilliantly satirized because the actual world, which is supposed to be a world that makes sense, is equated with a world of sheer nonsense as evoked by Wilde's comedy. Just reread the above quotations, and note how upper-class snobbishness is reduced to absolute absurdity by Lady Bracknell's unconscious candor—a candor such as "never was on sea or land" and can only be "the consecration and the comic poet's dream." This is the sharpest kind of satire, partly because it is so neatly expressed, and partly because it hits you without your being prepared for it, warned, or told that the playwright intends to do you a service in exposing the follies and vices of society. Wilde achieves a sharper effect by behaving as if the actual world isn't even worth satirizing, just as you don't take the trouble to tell a madman that he is mad because it wouldn't do any good—that is, *it wouldn't make sense* to the madman if you told him he is insane. Wilde is taking the insanity or nonsensicality of the world as a matter of course, which is obviously the final insult to the world, or rather to that portion of it which he has deigned to notice.

In the last analysis, style is a matter of *consistency*, of having a distinct system of relationship between the parts, of containing the material in a closed system, so to speak, and of shaping or transforming the raw material of life more or less so that it will conform to the created system. So, we can have a current farce-comedy like Norman Krasna's *John Loves Mary* which is vastly successful on the boards in

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spite of the fact that the merest touch of the feather of common-sense, the merest syllable of truth uttered in the right moment, would destroy the story. A soldier brings home his buddy's girl. In order to get her over from England, he has had to marry her. But his buddy has married someone else. Our hero has to explain his being married to the English girl while he himself is engaged to the daughter of a politician who insists on being married at once. The girl, her mother and her politician father are continually trying to hasten the marriage, even if this involves subverting the entire United States Army. The boy, mortally afraid to explain the mess into which he got himself, tries to delay the marriage long enough to be able to rid himself of the wife he acquired for his buddy's sake. And so the threads are spun and respun, entangling everyone and making perfectly normal people behave like madmen, until the threads are finally cut by the playwright's shears.

Why should this trivial farce seem quite delightful on the stage, even if the pleasure is evanescent and we wouldn't dream of giving it a place in any account of dramatic literature? Why doesn't it outrage our common sense? Why don't we cry out against it as utterly preposterous? Indeed, I am quite certain that dozens of unsuccessful playwrights have torn their hair and gnashed their teeth over *John Loves Mary*. They have written sounder comedies with more substance, more conviction and less contrivance and flimsiness. But their plays didn't get produced or they failed miserably on Broadway. The answer is probably that they didn't write such an air-tight, "closed-system" type of comedy or farce, and didn't get such a "closed-system" type of production—in short, their plays were insufficiently consistent. We find this lack in the intelligent current comedy, *Parlor Story*, by William McCleery which mixes several modes, subjects and tones. They failed, therefore, to close around the spectator completely and hold him inside for two hours. The audience could come up for breath, stand outside the magic circle of theatre, and could, therefore, note the hokum, the vacuity, the childishness or the artificiality of the proceedings on the stage. In such cases, the play or the production, or both play and production, suffered from a failure of style.

The same blessing of "style" is the secret of *Brigadoon*, the musical play that is the spring season's best gift to the theatre. Here, indeed, we have a miracle of ensemble artistry. The theatre is generally defined as a "fusion of the arts," and music drama has necessarily combined the arts of playwriting, dance and music, as well as the fine arts. Every hack in the field has known this and has used all these media. But, as in the case of every art, the question is not "what" but "how." Therein lies the ultimate difference between a George White's *Scandals* and a Theatre Guild's *Oklahoma*. There are, of course, different degrees of taste and competence in the writing of book and lyrics, the scoring, the choreography, and so on. More fundamentally, there is the problem of a unity of design.

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Putting elements together is not necessarily design—and style is design. In *Brigadoon* we find not only excellence in each of the theatre arts but an over-all pattern which gives the separate excellences their full force and beauty. The author, Alan Jay Lerner, chose to tell the story of a young American's sojourn in a Scottish town which comes to life for one day each hundred years. He falls in love there, departs when he realizes the truth about this town, is haunted by it, and goes back to his heart's desire. Mr. Lerner has not told his story superlatively, and in the classroom it wouldn't be difficult to point out where it falls short. But he has told a simple tale that is all of a piece instead of resorting to the miscellaneous ill-fitting sketches that usually pass for a musical comedy book. Nor has he made the usual crude attempts to litter his book with gags, *double entendres,* and forced comic situations. He has, in short, remained within the frame of his idea or fantasy. The lyrics are also in the same vein; and the score, which won't go down in musical history and is not even extraordinarily fine by comparison with the best Kern, Berlin, Rodgers and Gershwin Broadway scores, never diverges from the mood. Tunes like "Come to Me, Bend to Me," and "Waitin' for My Dearie" are memorably right for the life and spirit of *Brigadoon.* In the choreography, Agnes de Mille has invented an appropriate dancing style which floats through the scenes and barely touches the ground, as if to emphasize the ethereal nature of the story. Only once does the dancing really thump the earth, in the march of the funeral bagpipers—and the effect is overpoweringly eerie, suggestive of the weird fact of death among those who are alive only one day out of each century. The funeral dance that follows the procession is, then, composed of a single weaving dancer whose wild and tragic twists and movements express the universal nature of grief, —of grief that belongs to no time or place. Oliver Smith's settings are dream-like pictures, not always as atmospherically lit as one could wish, but they are suitable because the town is real enough most of the time for the characters, and because it is essentially a neutral place during the single day of its awakening. The acting of David Brooks, Marion Bell, James Mitchell, and the rest of the company is always more than competent; but, more important, it is invariably subordinated to the flow of story and mood.

There are better things in the two other recent musical plays, *Finian's Rainbow* and *Street Scene.* Nevertheless, their total effect is less than that of *Brigadoon. Street Scene* does not quite make up its mind whether it is opera or music drama (the *recitative* sticks out of the context like a swollen finger); *Finian's Rainbow* mixes ingredients and styles quite carelessly, as if those involved with it were saying, "This is show-business and we've got to do anything for variety and for the effect on the customers."

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HIGHLIGHTING

The International Scene

The American economic system was originally based on a capitalist concept of free enterprise, competition and the laws of supply and demand in an unregulated market. The *laissez faire* economic philosophy of Adam Smith and the Utilitarians dominated early American thinking. To a later era, the Horatio Alger hero was the symbol of American opportunity: the careers of such self-made men as Thomas Edison and Henry Ford indicated the golden promise of a free economy. Under the Constitution of the United States, as interpreted by the Supreme Court prior to the Civil War, the federal government had only very limited power to interfere with, or to regulate, private enterprise. Because the United States economy was young, rich and expanding and because of the limitations imposed by the federal form of government, we were late to recognize any need for social security legislation, wage and hours laws and other types of economic planning.

Prior to 1900, controls on a free economy, i. e. limitation of production and price raising, were primarily imposed by private industry, and the government tried (in such legislation as the Sherman Anti-Trust Act) to limit these controls. Since the first world war the concept of government planning for a more abundant life has steadily gained ground in the United States and government controls are imposed on the economy to accomplish this end, rather than to free the economy.

Although the United States has moved slowly in the direction of government planning, from the European standpoint (as well as its own) it is still a free capitalist economy. Those who believe in free enterprise still believe that because the United States is relatively free of government planning it is the richest nation in the world.

Most European nations, on the other hand, have come a long way in the regulation of private enterprise and the establishment of government-planned economies. Almost alone among the large nations of the world, the United States is primarily concerned with the maintenance of private enterprise, and representatives of the United States still look to private industry to produce the wealth of the nation.

This sharp difference in viewpoint overshadows any discussion of world trade, reciprocal agreements or tariff concessions. Because the United States plays the star role at any international trade conference, its economic philosophy assumes greater importance to the nations of the world.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION

Last fall the delegates of 17 nations met in London's Church House to plan for the Geneva Trade Conference. In April, 1947, 17 nations

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sent delegates to Geneva, Switzerland, where they met in the Palace of Nations Building to map out an International Trade Organization. On the theory that trade barriers are an important cause of war, they planned for a 60-nation conference to extend the reciprocal trade policy to most of the world.

While they listened to the introductory series of addresses, European representatives waited for some reassurance from the United States. To exponents of planned economy, American insistence on the maintenance of private enterprise is doctrinaire: they fear efforts to force American capitalism on the rest of the world. In his first statement to the conference, Clair Wilcox, acting head of the United States delegation, assured the members that the United States is determined to reach agreement on tariffs and on a new trade organization charter. He relayed President Truman's message: "The negotiations at Geneva must not fail." He declared that the United States is ready to submit schedules of proposed tariff concessions; is prepared to grant these to countries that offer us concessions. Whether the United States, with its great wealth, high tariffs, high prices and current tendency toward inflation, can assure the success of the conference remains to be seen. Yet some trade agreement is more than likely unless, as one European representative phrased it, the United States acts like the Russia of the economic world.

EXPLANATIONS ARE IN ORDER —

The new world role of the United States in the field of politics became more clearly outlined during April. In the month following the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine, repercussions were felt at home, in many foreign countries and in the halls of the United Nations headquarters. Strange as it might seem to Americans, few foreign countries regarded the Doctrine as an unmixed blessing. The Paris press on the whole commented unfavorably on American "interference." In Yugoslavia, the Communist newspaper *Borba,* a government mouthpiece, spoke bitterly of "American intervention in Greece." Even in Great Britain, some opposition to the American plan was manifest. Naturally, Communist groups in Greece were outraged, and reaction in Russia, though slow, was outspoken. A *Tass* dispatch described the new doctrine as "frankly directed against the democratic elements in Greece." *Izvestia* compared American moves to Hitler's tactics—Hitler "also referred to Bolsheviks when he wanted to open the road for conquests for himself."

Two primary international issues became apparent as debate on Truman's proposal continued. First: did his plan by-pass the United Nations? Second: what effect would it have on American-Russian relations?

In March, Senator Claude Pepper attacked the Truman doctrine:

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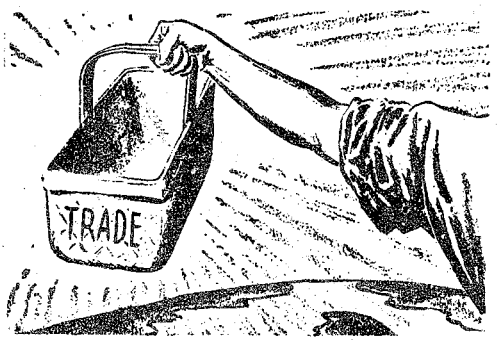

—Russell in *The Los Angeles Times*

"MISS LIBERTY TAKES THE LEAD"

"There is no reason why, to help the Greek people, we have to destroy the United Nations." Pepper advocated economic aid to Greece through a special United Nations committee. On March 28, Mr. Austin presented the official administration reply: he had just returned to Lake Success after three days of conference in Washington with the President and the State Department. Austin declared that American aid to Greece and Turkey would strengthen, not weaken the United Nations. The Greek appeal had come in accord with a recommendation of a U.N. agency (the Food and Agricultural Organization). While the U. N. investigates military conflict in Greece, American economic aid complements the investigation by strengthening internal order. Austin suggested that a "continuing commission . . . of representative members of the Security Council . . . be established to deal with the problem of Balkan frontiers under the United Nations Charter." The United Nations and its related agencies should "assume the principal responsibility, within their capabilities, for the long-range tasks of assistance required for the reconstruction of Greece"—American aid, said Austin, is merely temporary.

After continuing criticism of Truman's Doctrine, Senator Vandenberg, President pro-tem of the Senate and Republican spokesman on foreign affairs, offered an amendment to the Greek-Turkish aid bill to quiet the opposition. The bill as amended provided that the President would be "directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized:

"(1) If the President is officially notified by the United Nations[1] that the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waived the exercise of the veto) or that the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable.

"(2) If requested by the governments of Greece and Turkey, which governments would represent a majority of the people of the respective nations.

"(3) If the President finds that the purposes of the act have been substantially accomplished or that they cannot be accomplished."

On April 3, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously

[1] The notification requirement was later deleted.

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approved the bill as amended: on April 22, by a vote of 67-23, the Senate passed the bill and sent it to the House floor.

Although Vandenberg's amendment was intended to meet criticism of the plan, it apparently did nothing to soften Russian opposition. When Andrei Gromyko, Soviet Representative on the Security Council, replied to Mr. Austin, 5,000 applications for seats at the meeting had to be turned down; his 2500-word address was delivered to a capacity audience. As he developed the theme, Truman's plan "not only does not contribute to the strengthening of the United Nations organization, but . . . weakens this organization and undermines its authority." Help to Greece and Turkey, according to Gromyko, constitutes interference in their domestic affairs.

Although Soviet comment became more audible in April, it was still anyone's guess what long-term effect the Truman Doctrine would have on Russo-American relations. There was very little doubt that the United States and the U.S.S.R. did not agree ideologically, politically or economically. Whether Truman's rather obvious attack on Communism had widened the gap or simply clarified the issues remained to be seen.

PROPHET WITHOUT HONOR

One American and his followers had grave doubts. Henry A. Wallace had begun public criticism of American foreign policy in Madison Square Garden (New York) on September 12, 1946. The resulting furor had unseated him from the cabinet, and had driven him into the arms of the *New Republic* (as editor). On April 8, 1947, Wallace began his self-styled "peace mission" in Great Britain. Speaking as a private citizen, he charged that the United States was launched on a "mad nightmare" of "ruthless imperialism." He praised the British labor government and declared that world leadership lay with Britain rather than the United States. In Sweden, his next stop, the former vice-president asserted that "it is time to build up a middle path of international feeling, not against Russian Communism, nor against American capitalism, but for the common man's democracy." While Europeans greeted Wallace with mixed emotion, American "capitalists" of both Democratic and Republican leanings denounced him. Attorney General Tom Clark gave what was regarded as the Administration's comment: "One who tells the people of Europe that the United States is committed to ruthless imperialism—and war with the Soviet Union—tells a lie."

HORNS OF A DILEMMA

Whether or not plain speaking had clarified the differences between Russia and the United States, the Moscow Conference had made very little visible progress. It had varied sharply from previous Foreign Ministers' meetings. In 16 months of negotiations on the Axis satellites, the Council of Foreign Ministers had held 122 sessions. They had met in London in September, 1945; in Paris in the spring and fall and in New York in November, 1946. The treaties, results of bargaining and compromise all around, were completed last December.

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But the satellite treaties were simple compared to the infinitely complex German treaty. Four major questions (and many minor) remain to be solved.

Outstanding among the problems is that of reparations. Russia is now asking for $10,000,000,000 in German reparations, largely from current production; the United States and Great Britain have flatly refused to consider cutting into current production until Germany is economically unified and self-supporting. Britain and the United States are now footing the bills for occupation costs plus a minimum standard of living for Germans in their zones. American taxpayers contribute $200,000,000 per year to Germany in addition to the maintenance of the occupation army; Britons give even more. If the Russian proposal were accepted, the United States and Great Britain would merely be paying the German reparations to Russia (just as the United States thinks it paid German reparations to France by loans to Germany after the last war).

The dispute over reparations dates back to Yalta, which provided for reparations from current German production. At Potsdam, however, it had been agreed that German capital equipment should be used. Reparations from current output would obviously necessitate an increase in Germany's "level of industry," originally set very low in line with the Morgenthau plan.

The Paris Peace Conference of 1919 had also struggled with the reparation problem. In the Treaty of Versailles, the total indemnity to be paid by Germany was not named because "the question was too complex." On June 21, 1920, the Allies reached an understanding that Germany was to pay a total of 269 billion marks in 42 years: this figure was later modified and 132 billion marks (33 billion dollars) was agreed to. Neither this figure, nor the further modifications made by the Young Plan and the Dawes Plan, were ever met. In 1918, the Allies also seized German rolling stock and the German merchant marine, just as the Russians are confiscating German physical assets today. After World War I a combination of reparations and scarcities caused by the war resulted in inflation, which wiped out the savings of the middle class. The poverty that ensued was the breeding place for Naziism. British and American diplomats remember this well; nor are they likely to forget President Truman's recent reminder that "the seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want." Hence their firm stand.

The U.S.S.R., on the other hand, is primarily concerned with repairing devastation within Russia. Her insistence on reparations from current production points up weaknesses in her internal economy. It has been said that if Russia had admitted her real need for such reparations instead of issuing an "ultimatum," Great Britain and the United States might have made concessions.

THE RUHR

Second of the major problems is *the final disposition of the rich industrial Ruhr,* now in the British occupation zone. With an area of 1,000

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square miles and a population of 4,000,000, the Ruhr is the heart of Germany's heavy industry. According to the French proposal, the Ruhr should be governed by a special regime to develop coal production and distribute it. Coal mines and steel mills should be given to the Allied nations. A guaranteed percentage of Ruhr coal should go to France. The Russian plan for the Ruhr is quadripartite control. The United States and Great Britain oppose any special regime, preferring to set up the Ruhr as an integral part of a new Germany.

While the Foreign Ministers debated in Moscow, British occupation authorities faced a series of strikes, riots and minor disturbances in the Ruhr valley, brought on for the most part by the low diet of the miners. For the third successive ration period, the British have not been able to supply the Ruhr even with the minimum calorie diet promised, because of short shipments from Bavaria. To the British and Americans, the disturbances were signs that not only the Ruhr problem, but the broader problem of economic unification of Germany, pressed for solution.

Another major question facing the Big Four is *Marshall's proposed Four-Power Pact*—a simple 40-year treaty to guarantee the disarmament and demilitarization of Germany after the occupation. Although this suggestion would allay French anxiey and would prove that the United States is not planning to withdraw from Europe, the U.S.S.R. is at this writing unwilling to sign. The problem of *a form of government for the new Reich* (discussed in detail in the April *Forum*) is also still undecided. Obviously, not even the broad outlines of a German treaty were developed at Moscow: it is hoped that the Foreign Ministers will at least lay groundwork for a more productive conference this fall in London.

The Domestic Scene

In October of 1946, federal price controls were removed. At the time, it was hoped that rising prices would be checked by increasing production. But last month, the folly of this notion was discussed by everyone from Mrs. Average Housewife to President Harry S. Truman.

Living costs in April were at near-record levels, and the consumer was paying 52 per cent more for basic commodities than in January, 1941; 33 per cent more than in January, 1946; 7 per cent more than last September.

Several explanations were advanced. Some people believed that many items were scarce because of the backlog of pent-up demand. Others blamed the increased cost of materials and labor. Meat and grain prices increased. May wheat closed at $2.57 on April 12 in Chicago, a gain of more than eight cents for the week, and it was feared that it might go as high as $3 a bushel. Retailers were unable to get lower prices from wholesalers. Consumers' resistance—virtual buyers' strikes—caused a decrease in sales.

In an effort to stop prices from rising further, President Truman invited his Economic Advisory Council to attend a Cabinet meeting on April

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9. A number of hard-to-argue-with points were brought up at the meeting. Agreeing that prices had spiralled upward since price controls were lifted, the Council declared that unless prices were cut while consumer income remained stationary, purchasing power would evaporate. Commodities would remain on the shelves. Lay-offs would follow, and another depression would be in the offing.

The Council did not believe that profits were exorbitantly high, nor did they feel it advisable either to raise wages or clamp controls on prices again. Raising wages would benefit only certain groups outside the fixed-income bracket. Restoring price controls would antagonize the American people. The only possible solution, thought Mr. Truman, was voluntary price reductions. He placed the entire responsibility for halting the inflationary spiral on business. "They asked for free enterprise. They got it," was the President's statement. It was now up to business to work out the answer. Profits were high enough to allow price cuts. Otherwise wage increases would be justified.

Some spokesmen for industry promised to lower prices of manufactured goods. Others conceded the need for lowered prices, but blamed the government and the farmers for the predicament. The President was admonished for encouraging another round of wage increases which might lead the way to further inflation.

Two items stood behind the impending threat of inflation: first, despite record production, there was a huge backlog of unfilled orders, and second, there was three times as much money in circulation as at the beginning of the war. An analysis prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress showed that a major factor in corporate profits was the repeal of the excess profits tax and the tax credit carry-back provision.

CONGRESS AND UNIONS

On April 17, the House passed a drastic labor bill by a majority of 308-107. The same day, a milder labor bill was prepared by the Senate Labor Committee for discussion on the Senate floor. Both bills aimed to curb unions and collective bargaining by revising the Wagner Act.

The House bill:

1. Replaces the N.L.R.B. with a Labor Management Board.
2. Puts a $25 limit on union initiation fees.
3. Makes any new contracts granting a closed shop illegal.
4. Cancels present closed-shop agreements six months after the bill becomes law.
5. Allows employers to reject the union shop.
6. Permits a union shop only if a majority of the employees approve.
7. Forbids certification of the same union for bargaining with "competing employers" unless they have less than 100 employees and are within a 50-mile radius.

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8. Permits the President to seek a 75-day injunction against strikes harmful "to public health, safety, or interest."
9. Lists unfair practices of employees including jurisdictional strikes, mass picketing and secondary boycotts, which are termed "unlawful, concerted activities." For these, and for violation of contract, unions can be sued for damages.

The Senate bill:

1. Seeks to enlarge the N.L.R.B. from three to seven members.
2. Outlaws the closed shop.
3. Requires a majority vote of employees in order to get a union shop.
4. Prevents firing of employees who are discharged from the union for any reason except non-payment of dues.
5. Permits the President to seek a 75-day injunction against strikes considered harmful to "public health, safety, or interest."
6. Defines unfair practices of employees, but gives primary jurisdiction to the N.L.R.B. rather than the courts.

BACK TO THE MINES

Centralia, Illinois, was the scene of the worst mine disaster since 1928. An explosion on March 25 wrecked the diggings of the Centralia Coal Company and killed 111 men. Five days before the disaster, a federal inspector had found 51 safety code violations in the mine.

On March 29, John L. Lewis ordered 400,000 soft-coal miners in the nation to quit work for six days as a "memorial" to the Centralia victims.

Summoned before the House labor subcommittee, Lewis boldly demanded that Secretary of the Interior Krug be ousted from the Cabinet. While Lewis wrestled with the subcommittee, Krug announced that 518 of the 2,531 government-oper-

—Burck in the *Chicago Times*

"WHY DON'T YOU CHANGE THE TUNE?"

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ated coal mines would be closed until union committees declared them safe. This represented a loss of 616,000 tons of coal per day, or 26 per cent of the national total. Coal Mines Administrator N. H. Collison asked the United Mine Workers to submit names and locations of any mines the union regarded as too hazardous to remain open.

Several days later, Lewis wrote Krug and Collison, requesting that all mines in the nation, except two in Wyoming previously found free of safety violations, be kept closed until federal inspectors found them safe. The miners themselves regarded Lewis' letter as an order to cease work, and less than half of the nation's soft coal was mined in the following week. Succeeding events led Lewis to modify his insistence on federal certification of mine safety.

THE ROAD TO INDUSTRIAL PEACE?

Both labor and management began to realize that controversies could easily be avoided. After months and months of seemingly endless strikes and strife, both camps were ready to sign a truce. Management cast an approving eye at record profits and agreed that wages could be raised. Labor, fearful lest Congress pass drastic anti-labor legislation and not too anxious to have prices go up, was ready to talk terms with management.

On April 14, the United Electrical Workers union accepted a 15-cent wage increase for 30,000 members in the General Motors electrical accessory divisions. Later in the week, the electrical workers accepted another 15-cent raise, this time for 75,000 Westinghouse workers.

Officials of the United Steel Workers union assembled in Pittsburgh for three days of policy meetings. President Philip Murray of the C.I.O. cancelled one of the meetings to attend a conference with officials of United States Steel. Both sides seemed eager to compromise. On April 20, the United States Steel Corporation reached an agreement with the United Steel Workers which provided for a wage increase of more than 15 cents an hour. The agreement was to last for two years. The increases were retroactive to April 1. The United Automobile Workers and General Motors were almost in accord over wage demands, leaving the telephone strike the only remaining strike of national importance.

It was Monday morning, April 7, when telephone operators left their switchboards and one-third of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company's 26,500,000 telephones were silenced except for emergency service. Long distance calls fell off to 20 per cent of the normal amount, and supervisors were forced to man the large switchboards.

This was the biggest telephone strike in history, with more than 300,000 workers out, including 230,000 women—the largest number of women ever involved in a strike. The strike itself was called by the independent National Federation of Telephone Workers. The Federation first called for a $12 weekly wage increase, a union shop, and a reduction in the regional wage differential. But the wage increase did not become the basic issue. The Federation insisted that negotiations be conducted on an in-

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dustry-wide basis. C. F. Craig, A.T. & T. vice president, wanted negotiations kept on a local basis, and it was this point that kept the strike running. Neither side seemed willing to yield.

POLITICAL STOCKMARKET

National party conventions for choosing candidates for President and Vice President were a long distance away, yet observers were carefully noting the rise and fall in popularity of the men who were almost sure bets for the candidacies.

The Democrats, represented by Harry S. Truman, were pleased to find that their man was doing so well. Opinion polls, Congressional mail, decisions by members of Congress, letters to the editor and newspaper editorials all indicated that the President's stock was high, and still rising. Mr. Truman's victory over John L. Lewis a few months ago gave him the initial impetus, and it was followed by the Democratic victory in the Chicago mayorality election, by the Senate confirmation of David E. Lilienthal as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and by the President's ability to get along with a Republican Congress, as witnessed by the support given to his Greek-Turkish aid program. Few observers believed Mr. Truman would refuse to accept the candidacy next year.

In the Republican camp, Senator Arthur Vandenberg was gaining in popularity despite his reluctance to be a candidate for the Presidency. Not only had Senator Vandenberg favored the confirmation of Mr. Lilienthal, but he took a firm though moderate stand on both domestic and foreign issues. He authored the amendment to the Greco-Turkish bill, an amendment which pleased the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Closest opposition came from Senator Robert A. Taft and Governor Thomas E. Dewey. Polls showed that while Taft was losing favor rapidly, Dewey's popularity was static. Taft's opposition to the Lilienthal confirmation was cited as the reason for his loss, but it was felt that his leadership on labor legislation, the budget, and taxes would probably send his stock soaring upward again.

HOLOCAUST IN TEXAS

Tragedy struck at Texas City, Texas on April 16, when a French freighter loaded with ammonium nitrate destined for France caught fire. The ship exploded, setting off a chain of explosions in the city which eventually killed about 550 persons and injured 3,000. In two hours of savage explosions followed by raging fires, the city was almost completely devastated. The huge Monsanto Chemical plant adjacent to the docks became a monumental torch. Buildings were levelled by new explosions which were as tremendous as earthquakes. Property damage was estimated at $125,000,000. General Jonathan M. Wainwright, hero of Bataan, who was in charge of Army relief service in the city, remarked, "I have never seen a greater tragedy in all my experience."

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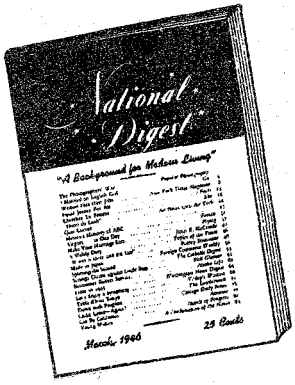

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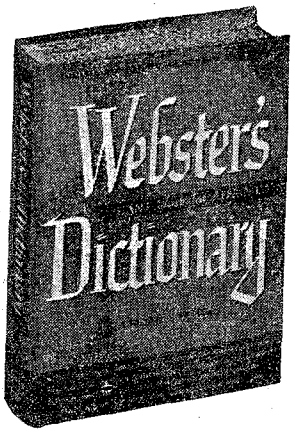

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FORUM FEATURES

Alzada Comstock is Professor of Economics at Mount Holyoke College and author of numerous authoritative articles on Britain and international finance in CURRENT HISTORY magazine. Miss Comstock attended the San Francisco Conference and from her first-hand knowledge of the birth of the United Nations Organization, has written an article on U.N. which has recently been published in CURRENT HISTORY. We are sure FORUM readers will find Miss Comstock's latest article, **"Britain's Prosperity and Free Trade,"** both interesting and valuable reading.

In the May issue of FORUM we take pleasure in presenting many return engagements of star performers.

Dr. Elmer Plischke of the Department of Political Science of DePauw University and author of "Soviet-American Cooperation" (March FORUM), returns with **"The Independence Boom,"** on the fascinating subject of the dissolution of the great modern empires.

Miss Louise Overacker, author of "Australia's Post-War Elections" (January FORUM), writes again from Australia where she is studying the Australian party system. Miss Overacker is Professor of Political Science at Wellesley College and received a grant-in-aid for her Australian work from the Social Science Research Council. You'll be interested in her article, **"Australia's Battle of Bretton Woods,"** on page 399.

George H. Hallett, Jr., and **William R. Woodward** present a continuation of their discussion on proportional representation on page 392 of the May issue.

"Have Public Employees the Right to Strike?" Alice McGinty says, "Yes"; **Sylvan Kling,** "No." How about going to bat with them: let us hear your opinions in OUR ROSTRUM. What do you think about the rights of public employees?

We'd also like your opinion on the congressional debate which appears on page 416 of the May FORUM, **"Can We Reduce the Debt and Taxes?"**

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